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Newt Gingrich and GOPAC: Training the Farm Team that helped win the Republican Revolution of 1994

William Corkery
College of William and Mary

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**Newt Gingrich and GOPAC:
Training the Farm Team that helped win the Republican Revolution of 1994**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelors of Arts in the Government Department from
The College of William and Mary

By
William Bernard Corkery III

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John Gilmour, Director

Ronald Rapoport

Bob Archibald

Williamsburg, VA

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SECTION ONE: INTRODCUTION

The title of this thesis is “Newt Gingrich and GOPAC: Training the Farm Team that helped win the Republican Revolution of 1994”. The thesis is that Newt Gingrich and GOPAC helped train a new generation of Republican leaders to raise money and run for office. These efforts slowly increased the number of Republicans in municipal and state level and had a ‘trickle up effect’. This meant that their increased quality (i.e. previous electoral experience) helped them eventually take back Congress in 1994. I contend that their actions helped increase the number of state level Republicans and, with time, gave the Republicans a quality field of candidates to run for Congress. For this reason I think Pete du Pont and Newt Gingrich deserve the title ‘political entrepreneurs’. There are four main sections following the introduction.

Section two will deal with Newt Gingrich and his work until 1986. This first part deals with Gingrich’s work to promote Republican values, raise money for Republicans, etc. through such means as the Conservative Opportunity Society.

Section three delves into GOPAC from its founding by Governor Pete du Pont until Newt Gingrich took over the organization.

Section four will deal with Newt Gingrich at the helm of GOPAC until the 1994 election. This will be the most important part as it will show how Newt Gingrich revolutionized the Republican Party from a second rate party into a professional organization that recruited good candidates to win Congressional Seats.

The final section of the paper is the conclusion, which looks at the 1994 Republican Revolution and looks at the overall quality of Republican candidates from 1974 to 1994 and the number of state level Republicans. Hopefully, the data show that Newt Gingrich and GOPAC had an effect on the Republican Party and American Politics.

SECTION TWO: NEWT GINGRICH AND HIS AMBITIONS

Section two is important as it deals with the Newt Gingrich formation and early career as a Congressman.

Congressman Gingrich hit the ground running trying to reform the House of Representatives. Within a few years of arriving in Congress, he set up the Conservative Opportunity Society, which was premised on the idea that the liberal welfare state was the cause of many of America's problems. Not long after, Newt Gingrich got into a floor fight with the Speaker of the House of Representatives Tip O'Neill. This attitude permeated the new breed of Young Gun Republicans who actively taunted the Democratic majority. From the early days, Newt showed that he wanted the Republicans to take control of the House of Representatives.

Newt Gingrich is a politician that redefined congressional politics in America. After entering maturity, he had the singular goal of getting elected to Congress, making the Republicans the majority, and becoming Speaker of the House of Representatives. This section will chronicle the rise of Newt Gingrich from student to teacher to Congressman. After, I will show how he built his powerbase in the House and earned the reputation as a 'bomb thrower'. Finally I will show his Conservative Opportunity Society and his vision for a Republican Congress which, with GOPAC, would become a reality.

From an early age, Newt showed himself to be both intelligent and interested in politics. He was a Merit Scholar semi-finalist, won multiple essay contests, and was competed in the Debate team.¹ His interest in politics was probably sparked by his running the campaign of his friend for class president. This interest continued into the summer when he volunteered in 1960 Nixon campaign. Following Nixon's defeat, he sent an article to the *New York Times* outlining

¹ Mel Steely. The Gentleman from Georgia, The Biography of Newt Gingrich. (Mercer University Press: Macon, Georgia, 2000). Page 14.

what the Republican Party should do to capture the South. His ideas were remarkably similar to Nixon's southern sweep strategy eight years later.²

While still in college, he managed the Congressional campaign for Jack Price in Georgia's Ninth district. Newt managed the entire campaign and ran it with remarkable efficiency but, ultimately, they were soundly beaten but not for lack of trying. The unfortunate fact was that most GOP candidates in the south had to run on their own. Price and Gingrich received almost no help from the state GOP organs because it had languished for decades. Complete apathy permeated the Southern Republicans and a defeatist attitude reigned. Newt learned lessons from this early exposure to party politics.³

Gingrich proceeded to Emory University where he was well liked by his fellow student and professors for his intelligence and friendliness. He graduated with a bachelor's degree in History and proceeded to get a graduate degree in History at Tulane University.⁴ By then, his mind was made up and he was fully committed to being a politician. A telling example was when he was at a party with his fellow graduate students and a question was asked what people were going to be doing in 15 years. The uniform response was teaching, except for one. "I'm gonna be the U.S. Senator from Georgia" responded Newt.⁵

After graduating he sought a position at the West Georgia College to establish a base to run for congress in the future.⁶ The years he spent there were a time of growth both intellectually and politically. He tested ideas and built a network of friends so that when the time came and he needed their support, he would have it.⁷ After a few years of teaching, he made a run for

² Ibid 18.

³ Ibid 21-22.

⁴ Ibid 24.

⁵ Judith Warner & Max Berley, Newt Gingrich: Speaker to America (A Signet Book, 1995). Page 42.

⁶ Steely 24-25.

⁷ Ibid 30-31.

Congress in Georgia's Sixth Congressional District in 1974. Gingrich knew he had to differentiate himself from his opponent, Congressman Flynt; the easiest way to go against a southern Democrat was to bring up civil rights and hit him from the left.⁸ He also campaigned on education reform, tax cuts, and environmental reform (being well versed because of his years teaching a class on the subject).⁹ While some boxed him into the category of a liberal college professor, he preferred to describe himself as a "Common Sense Conservative." Ultimately, Nixon and the Watergate scandal hurt Republicans nationwide, but Newt, with his great organizational skills and inspiring rhetoric, was able to get 48.5% of the vote, an incredible showing.¹⁰

While Newt was somewhat surprised that he lost, this first run set the ground work for his next in 1976 race. Even though the campaign was over and Newt had to go back to teaching, his loyal friends and family continued to host events and gatherings to raise money, almost as if the 1974 campaign had never stopped.¹¹

Newt was not only concerned about his own election, he was concerned with the Republican Party as a whole and the immediate impact he could have would be to help the Georgia Republican party. After the 1974 election, Georgia did not have a single Republican Congressman. Worse than that, the national party was in trouble as the conservative Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, was challenging the sitting President, Gerald Ford, splitting the party between the conservatives and the traditionalists. Newt did have tremendous respect for Reagan and agreed with him on most issues but was somewhat recalcitrant to oppose a sitting president.

⁸ Ibid 51.

⁹ Ibid 52-53.

¹⁰ Ibid 64.

¹¹ Ibid 65-67.

Gingrich worked to calm this divide in Georgia by use the well know eleventh commandment of the Republicans, “Thou shall not speak ill of another Republican”.¹²

This second try for Congress ultimately ended up with Newt loosing again. He did make some changes including more professional staff and clearly set himself as a Republican for small government, a position he would carry for his the rest of his life. While Newt may have lost, in the small amount of free time he had while he was campaigned, he was already helping his fellow republicans running for office by offering advice and research.¹³ Ultimately, Newt’s opponent, Flynt won by ridding on the coattails of presidential candidate Carter, a fellow Georgian. The Democratic Party ran many ads encouraging people to do straight ticket voting and African Americans showed up in force to vote. In the *Atlanta Constitution*, Newt Gingrich notes the irony that “Blacks gave Flynt the victory...ironic because he had opposed voting rights legislation throughout his career.” In the end it did not matter because Newt was already preparing for his next run for Congress.¹⁴

The 1978 election was different than the last two because of two important reasons: One, Congressman Flynt retired so the seat was up for grabs, and two, Carter’s popularity had decreased. Newt also chose popular issues such as the Panama Canal treaty, that Carter signed, which gave the Panama Canal back to the Panamanians. Many Americans were angry about this and Gingrich used this to come out in support of a strong and aggressive foreign policy position.¹⁵ Newt beat his republican primary challengers and because of the extensive contacts he

¹² Steely 68-69; Brain Williams, *The 11th Commandment* (MSNBC, October 17th, 2007), <http://dailynightly.msnbc.msn.com/news/2007/10/17/4373224-the-11th-commandment>. As a footnote, this is incredible ironic as the man who used and popularized this phrase was Ronald Reagan. Reagan attributed this phrase to California Republican Party Chairman Gaylord Parkinson to prevent Republicans from attacking each other. Reagan had to break his own rule when running against Ford.

¹³ Steely 75-80.

¹⁴ Ibid 84-85.

¹⁵ Ibid 91.

made in the past four years running, he was able to beat his democratic opponent. But his success was not shared by any state wide Georgian Republican candidate or any other Republican Georgian Congressional candidate. Newt's victory was the first step towards a change that he envisioned where a Republican Party would take back the House and he would be the one leading the charge. And now he finally had his horse: his congressional seat in Congress.¹⁶

After spending a few years learning the ropes, Newt wanted to start to change the party in Congress and American politics. One of his first ideas was in 1977, when he wrote a newsletter entitled *A proposed Contract Between Congressman-elect Newt Gingrich and the Citizens of the Sixth District of Georgia*. He took seriously his obligations as a steward of the people's trust and wanted to make sure that he was held accountable to what his citizens wanted.¹⁷ A few years later, he had the idea that Republicans could get together on the steps of Capitol Hill to sign the Roth-Kemp Tax Cuts Bill. As parallels of these can be seen in the Contract with America, many unique ideas were already formulating in Newt's mind years before 1994.¹⁸

One of his first steps to retaking Congress was his momentous Conservative Opportunity Society. This began in 1982, when Newt introduced thirty-four conservative bills that would define the goals of COS.¹⁹ His staff initially rejected the idea and said it was "overreaching". Newt causally responded, "Over-reaching is the most admirable and the most American of many American excesses".²⁰ While most Republican politicians followed the White House lead, Newt

¹⁶ Ibid 104-105.

¹⁷ Ibid 109.

¹⁸ Ibid 127.

¹⁹ Congressional Record: November 3, 1983. Conservative Opportunity Society.

²⁰ Stealy 140.

felt that many GOP Congressman were cowed by the Democratic establishment. The COS was the answer.

COS began with an inauspicious start. “It was late 1982 when I began writing about the Conservative Opportunity Society. I was doing a lot of research and I realized that there was a clear distinction between society versus state. There was a clear difference between the two and I wanted to open a discussion about the difference. The idea finally crystallized when Vin Weber walked up to me the last day of the lame duck session and said ‘Newt, what are you going to be doing for the next ten years?’ I said ‘I am staying right here’. Vin responded ‘Let’s do something together.’”²¹

In 1982, with neither the White House nor the Democratic majority willing to listen, he proposed these thirty-four bills. The agenda for COS would be building a Republican majority, strengthen the national defense, enacting the Kemp-Roth tax cuts, etc. In Newt’s mind, the building of the GOP majority and the COS were linked as the COS would not only unify the Republican Party but also bring in conservative Democrats and independents to the cause of fighting the “liberal welfare state.” He wanted everyone to see the differences between his vision of America and the welfare state that had been hurting the United States. Here is the chart he put forward:

COS “Governemnt”//Liberal Welfare State

Honest money without inflation. // A return to doubt-digit inflation.

Jobs through economic growth. // Jobs through temporary make word.

Decentralized and flexible government institutions // Centralized & rigid government institutions.

²¹ Newt Gingrich Interview with the Author.

Local official needs to understand local community // Local official must follow federal rules and bureaucratic red tape.

The list goes on. Newt also had a reading list of books he wanted people to read (such as *In Search of Excellence* and *The Effective Executive*). Not only did he provide the foresight for COS, he also set up COS as a full-fledged organization with four distinct parts.²²

The first group was the GOP Whip Planning Committee headed by Trent Lott (called the “Godfather of COS” by Newt). It had some other notable members such as Jack Kemp and Dick Cheney. Their job was to coordinate with the White House, Senate and House to best maximize COS effectiveness.²³

The second group was the GOP Wednesday Team that met every Wednesday morning. Their job was to talk about House strategy and timing to effectively push COS agenda. Their purview included developing ideas, leading floor fights, delivering ‘special orders’ on C-SPAN, and inspiring Republican House members.²⁴

The third group was the Outside strategy Group that met each Wednesday for lunch and its membership varied. The people in attendance were Congressman, Senators, activists, lobbyists, intellectuals, campaign strategists, and pollsters. The primary function of this was to write down their ideas and to spread the word about COS.²⁵

²² Stealy 140.

²³ Ibid 141-143.

²⁴ Ibid 141-143.

²⁵ Ibid 141-143.

The final group was the Senior Advisory Group and met once a month. This group had old-time GOP members such as Donald Rumsfeld who gave advice and helped plan for the long term creation of a conservative GOP majority.²⁶

With the COS as his base, Newt went into action. Early in his career in the House he struck upon the idea to use new technology, C-SPAN, to reach his audience, the American public. C-SPAN cameras were installed in the 1980s and they would record the House deliberation, votes, committees, etc. This new technology was installed to help people understand what exactly happens in the House of Representatives.

One of the most controversial C-SPAN moments was when Newt requested special orders (after hours) time from the C-SPAN cameras and stood in front of the House of Representatives and delivered a partisan attack against the House Democrats with a laundry list of accusations of being soft on Communism. Newt shouted out for the Democrats to defend these accusations but no Democrats responded. The reason they did not respond was because it was after hours and there was not anyone on the floor except Newt. Americans could not know this because the new C-SPAN cameras were not allowed to pan out to show the floor. From houses across America, it looked as if the Democrats were cowed by Newt and too afraid of these accusations to say anything.

The next day, there was some fallout as Speaker O'Neill took to the floor to express his outrage at Gingrich's attack.

O'Neill said "My personal opinion is this. You deliberately stood before an empty House and challenged these people and you challenged their Americanism and it's the lowest thing that I've ever seen in my 32 years in Congress!"

Unfortunately as soon as the Speaker said this, Trent Lott sprang to his feet and asked that the Speaker's words be stricken from the record. After some deliberation, his words were stricken from the

²⁶ Ibid 141-143.

record. This is a unique event and almost unheard of on the House floor. Members are not allowed to insult other members and to have a Speaker's words be stricken because they were violating house rules is a rare and insulting event for anyone, especially the Speaker.²⁷

Although Conservative Opportunity Society was trying hard to gain control of the House, all their efforts were an annoyance to the Democrats because Newt did not have the support of the rest of the House Republicans. This started to change when Speaker O'Neill retired and Jim Wright from Texas took over. Wright became Speaker of the House of Representative in 1987 and he strengthened the Speaker's leadership power over the Rules Committee. This is important as the Rules Committee is where the Speaker derives most of his power and the Rules Committee is where most of the power of the House resides.²⁸

The two most infamous uses of his power towards partisan ends were when he, after losing a rule vote, adjourned for the day and then immediately reconvened to pass the rule. This did not go over well with the Republicans who had just successfully voted down a bill, then watch the bill pass minutes later because of Wright. A year later, Wright purposely kept the vote on a bill from closing so some of his party members could arrive to save the day. These two events, combined with the everyday strengthening of the majority party (the Democrats) and the Speakership power, infuriated even the most liberal Republican.²⁹

The Republicans' response can be seen in two key events and these were the elections of Newt Gingrich and Dick Armey. The first is the 1989 House Minority Whip election between Gingrich and Madigan. This race was extremely important as, for House Republicans, it signified

²⁷ Congressional Record: May 15, 1984. Debate between Gingrich & O'Neill; Gingrich & O'Neill Debate. C-SPAN Video Library. House Session, May 15, 1984, <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/HouseSession3965>. As a footnote, the partisan atmosphere was not entirely one sided. When Gingrich and his allies took to the floor during special orders times, O'Neill secretly changed the C-SPAN rules so that the camera man could pan to show the empty house. This made the Republicans look foolish and just added to the partisanship.

²⁸ Douglas Koopman, Hostile Takeover: The House Republican Party 1980-1995 (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996). Page 42-43.

²⁹ Ibid 42-43.

the direction the members wanted their party to go. Madigan was a conciliatory Congressman who said the whip job was “coalition-building” and said he had no interest in trying to be Minority Leader. Gingrich was completely the opposite. He said “the Whip’s race is more important and decisive because it’s a race about what we’re going to become... and what kind of party” we are going to be. He said this was a race between a cooperative party, exemplified by Madigan, and an aggressive and assertive party, exemplified by Gingrich. Gingrich was tired of “getting the crumbs” from the proverbial Democratic table.³⁰ In the end the vote was eighty-seven for Gingrich and eighty-five for Madigan. It is also important to note that this was not a vote for conservatism but more a vote towards party unification. To quote Claudine Schneider, arguably the most liberal House Republican and a supporter of Gingrich, “we were sending a signal... basically there is an abuse of power by the Democrats in the House.”³¹

The second case is different but still important. That is the Arme y-Lewis race for Chair of the Republican Conference, the number three spot. This race was different as it was more conservative (Arme y) versus moderate (Lewis), but Arme y was clear to make the point that Lewis had become far too cozy with the Democratic majority and had abused this relationship. Another important fact was that it was in 1992 and the freshman class was a decisive vote, voting thirty-five out of forty for Arme y, which helped Arme y win the election eighty-eight to eighty-four. While this election may have been for conservatism, it is necessary to keep in mind that it is very likely that this election may very well have been for activism as well (demonstrated by many freshman, such as John Linder, saying that they were “looking for activity”).³²

³⁰ Koopman 12-13.

³¹ Myra MacPherson. *Newt Gingrich: Point Man in a House Divided* (Washington DC: Washington Post, June 12th 1989). Page C9.

³² Koopman 140-141.

Newt learned the hard the best way to fight an enemy with greater numbers was to go on the attack (Newt always loved using military terminology). In 1987, when Newt learned that Jim Wright was going to be the new Speaker, he hired a staffer just to look into Wright's past. He launched a one man attack against the most powerful man in Congress. He accused Wright of multiple ethical misconducts, including a charge that Wright made over \$60,000 in a fake book deal. Because of the slippery nature of Texas politics, Newt hoped that Wright had messed up somewhere and that therefore one of his charges would stick. It took over two years, but eventually Newt brought down Wright.³³

Paul Weyrich, conservative activist, said that

“Because he took on Wright and won, he became a serious political figure, at that point. Up to that point, he was regarded as an interesting political figure, somebody that was very good for a quote, but not somebody who was perhaps going to be in the power structure. When he took on Jim Wright and he won, he was regarded very seriously from that moment on.”³⁴

The Democratic majority was very annoyed with COS and called them ‘bomb throwers’ but everything that Newt and his colleagues did have a purpose. The disruptive measures and special orders at the end of the day gave Newt a way to connect with the American public and shape the issues and debates into something of their choosing. Gingrich, along with COS sought to show America his version of the Democratic majority in the House: corrupt, arrogant, out-of-touch with Americans, and, as he would say, ‘in desperate need of a new job.’ By showing Americans the perks, pork, and corruption of the house through C-SPAN and other new technologies, he hoped that Americans would grow to dislike Congress.³⁵

³³ Peter J. Boyer. *The Long March of Newt Gingrich* (January 1996), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/newt/newtscrip.html>.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

SECTION THREE: GOPAC: FOUNDING AND EARLY YEARS

Section three deals with GOPAC and its founding. It started in 1978 when Governor Pete du Pont saw a disheartening Republican Party, an election with a Democratic President, and Congress, and Democrats controlling 2/3rds of the state legislatures. Du Pont believed that the Republican Party should be the most popular because of its stances but because of inexperienced candidates and lack of money, the American people were not getting the messages. He decided to build a “farm team” to train young aspiring candidates to effectively run and most likely win their races.

While many associate GOPAC with Newt Gingrich, it was actually founded by Governor Pete du Pont. Governor of Delaware from 1977 to 1985, du Pont was following the 1978 elections when he realized what a bleak outlook the GOP had in store. Carter was in the White House and the Senate and House were both solidly Democratic (they had been since 1955). On top of that, only a quarter of state legislative bodies in the US were controlled by Republicans.

Du Pont, along with most conservative republicans at the time, was fighting a two-sided battle at this point in political history. There were liberal Republicans, like Rockefeller, and Democrats, like Carter, to contend with. After years of political maneuvering, conservative Republicans were winning. The ultimate problem came because even though people like du Pont believed Americans agreed with conservative policies, e.g. low taxes, small government, and strong national defense, the American public was getting mixed messages.³⁶

“The idea came to me in 1978. The elections returns had come in and there were only 12 GOP governors and we had control of about as many legislative bodies. Bailey Deardourff helped me get elected and they said that in the long run it would be difficult to get more governors elected unless we get control of more state legislatures. The idea came to us to form a political action committee to help the GOP win state legislatures. We talked to the other 11 governors to get a

³⁶ Nicol C. Rae, The Decline and Fall of the Liberal Republicans: From 1952 to the Present (Oxford University Press, March 1989). Nicol C. Rae, Conservative Reformers: The Republican Freshmen and the Lessons of the 104th Congress (M.E. Sharpe Publishers, April 1988).

committee together and they said they would be glad to help. Thus GOPAC was born. We organized it so that we would do an event at a state for a certain number of state candidates. We would fundraise and the money would go into the GOPAC coffers. We would then give the money to tight state races and I would fly out to these races to help campaign. That was the whole theory behind GOPAC and it was a tremendous success. The strategy helped many good people win. We only supported tight races with good candidates. We couldn't support the son of somebody. After our first couple of events, we started getting calls from all over America. States such as Oklahoma or Texas would call and ask for help and we would host an event there.”³⁷

The strong local presence of democrats had a strange trickle up effect on the national Democratic Party. Democrats always had a strong field of candidates at the local level to bring up to the state and national level. By controlling 3/4ths of the state legislature bodies, Democrats were able to put strong candidates on the ballots for the House. That is what du Pont saw and wanted to change. If he could break the cycle, Republicans would have a great chance nationally.

The Democrats control was helped by the factor that members of Congress have a very high reelection rate, with the House having a much higher rate than the Senate. For the House, as Table 1 shows, incumbents have won most House elections. More than 90 percent of races are won by incumbents. From 1948 to 2002, only 1.7 percent of incumbents have been beaten in primaries and 6.1 percent have the lost the general election.

Senate, on the other hand, is quite different. From 1948 to 2002, 4.7 percent of incumbents have lost their primary and 16.5 percent have lost the general. This means that the reelection rate for senators is 78.6 percent, far below their House counterparts. On top of this, Senate races are more susceptible to national election tides, shown in the 1980 election where 55 percent of incumbent Senators were reelected. Figure 1 shows reelection through the years:

³⁷ Du Pont interview with the Author.

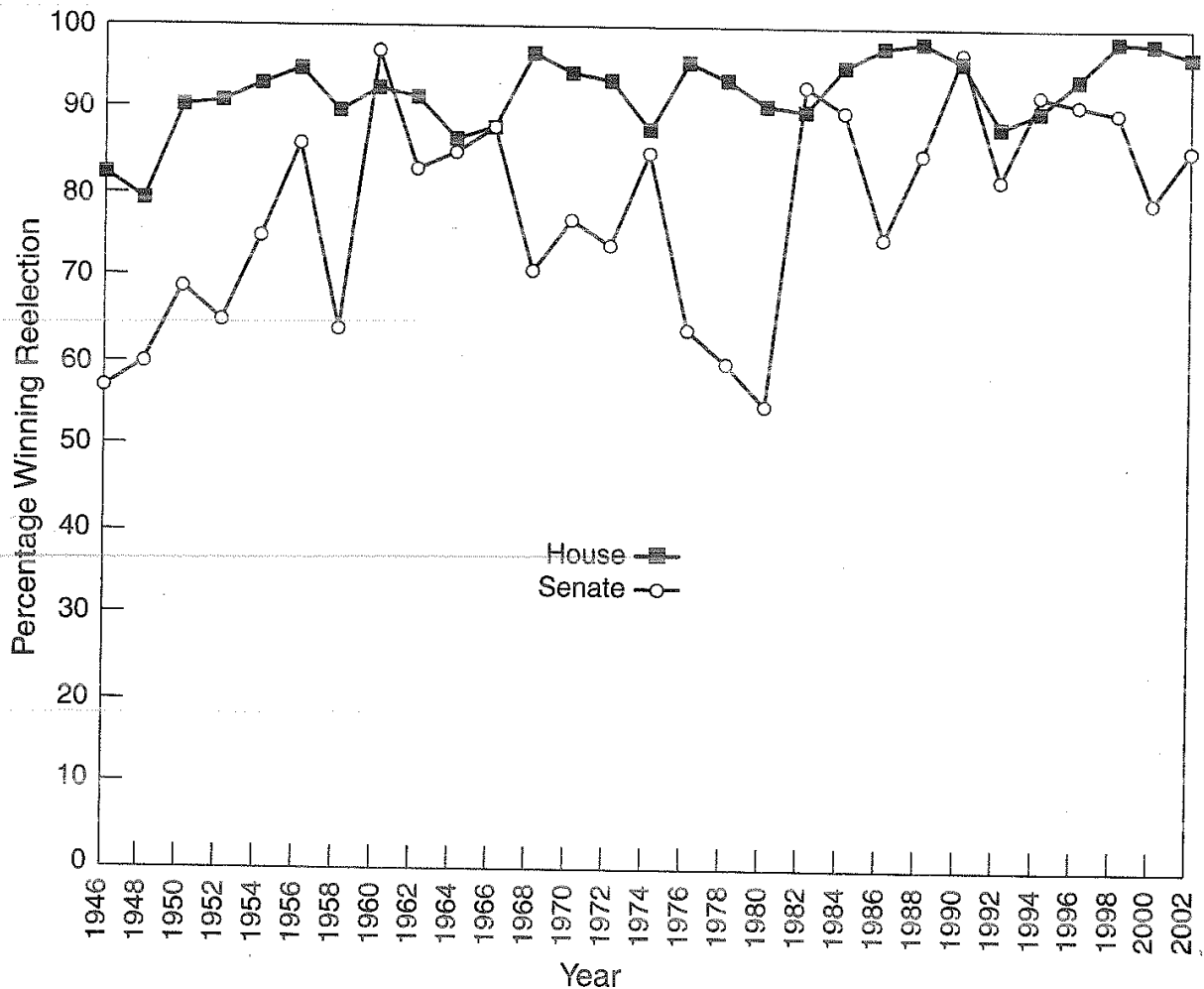


Figure 6: Success Rates of House and Senate Incumbents Seeking Reelection, 1946-2002.³⁸

The Democrats' ability to get reelected was coming from the dual advantage of incumbency/experience and money. These two factors led to a natural advantage for the Democratic Party. The first factor is incumbency and experience, which is not handed to a politician in a bag. It takes time and committed effort. Richard Fenno, political scientist and author of *Home Style*, says that Congressmen's careers go through distinct phases and failure to learn these will cause them to lose their seat. The first stage is the expansionist phase where members "devote a great deal of time and energy to building up their base of regular supporters."

³⁸ Gary C. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections* (United States: Pearson Longman Publishers, 2004). Page 26.

After building this supporting base, the candidate works hard to incorporate as many different groups into their coalition. This phase starts before the candidate's first election and continues for a couple of years.³⁹

The second phase is called the protectionist phase and it starts after a few elections. In this phase the politician no longer tries to add more groups but just tries to maintain his base. The other advantage of just maintaining his base is that the politician is able to use his years of influence on Capitol Hill to his advantage. While he always runs the risk losing touch with his district and being seen as an outsider, mostly they are able to hold their seat.⁴⁰

The main problem here is that potential candidates do not instinctively know how to perform phase one, expansionist. With a majority of Democrats in state legislatures and the Democrats controlling Congress, Republicans who ran for different offices had to feel their way through winning elections. The results were not great.

The other factor is money. Gary Jacobson points this out in his book *The Politics of Congressional Elections*. In two separate graphs compiled by Jacobson, the odds of a campaign challenger winning against an incumbent increase exponentially with the more money he spends. A challenger, for example, who spends less than \$100,000 has the extremely long odds of one in 2,798. Compare this to the other end of the scale where the challengers who spend more than \$800,000 win almost one-third of their races. Although races can be skewed by the national tides, e.g. democratic advantage in 1982 and republican in 1980, this information clearly shows that money is an incredibly important factor in races.⁴¹

One important thing to note about money is that money is much more important to congressional challengers than to incumbents. The basis for this is that non-incumbents need to

³⁹ Jacobson 2004, page 47.

⁴⁰ Jacobson 2004, page 48.

⁴¹ Jacobson 2004, page 44.

get their message out so raising and spending money is crucial to that. Added to this is the fact that with each dollar the non-incumbent spends, they are having more people hear it for the first time. This means that a challenger's money is more effective than an incumbent's money. The challenger only has to define themselves once, but the incumbent has to redefine or remind their constituents. The bottom line is that money is a crucial part of winning a congressional seat and no challenger can do it without it.⁴²

For a clearer understanding of the ever increase need of money by congressional candidates here is Figure 2:

⁴² Jacobson 2004, pages 46-47.

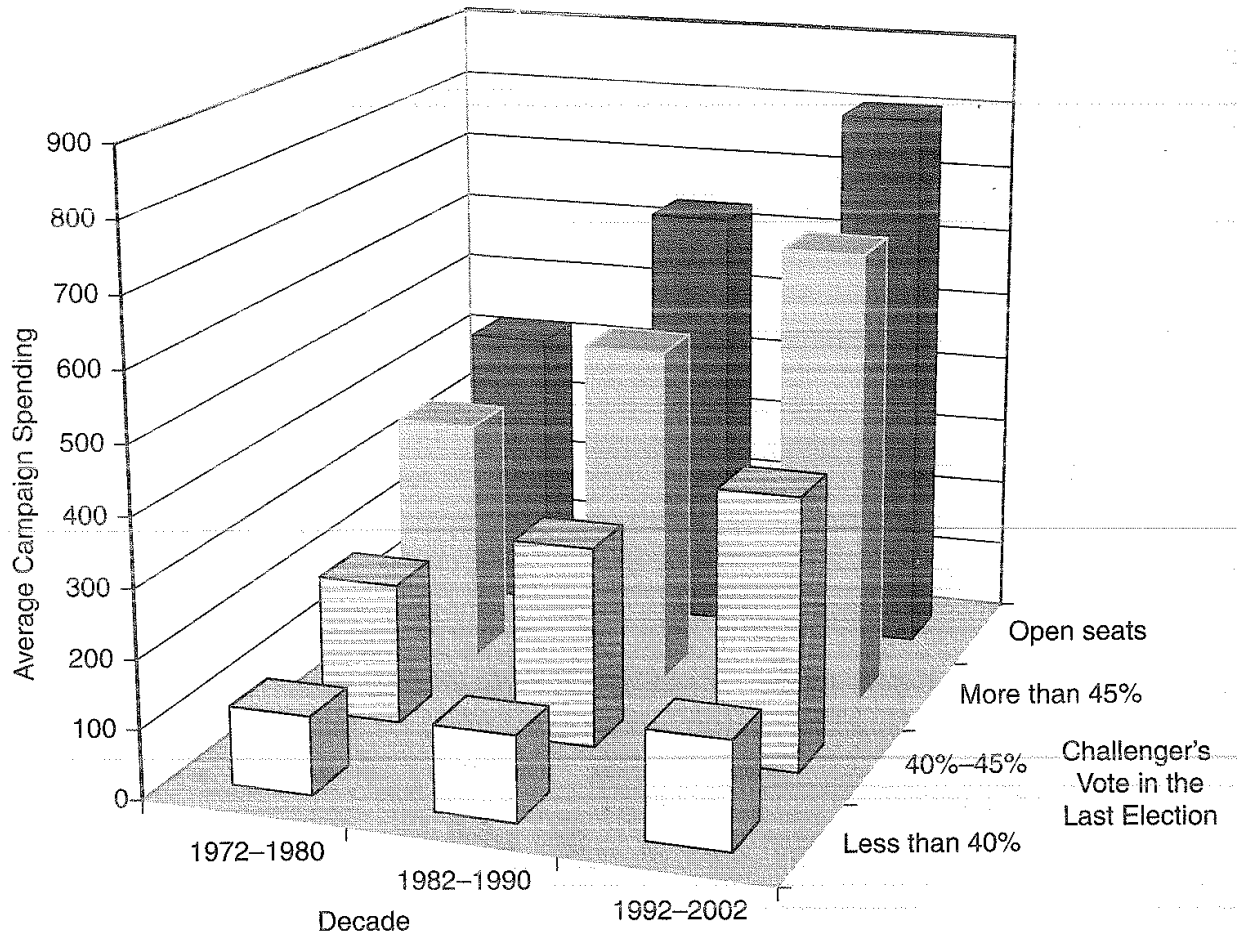


Figure 7: Electoral Competition and Spending by Nonincumbent House Candidates 1972-2002 (In Thousands of Dollars, Adjusted for Inflation).⁴³

Another way to show the need for money is the following, table 2. Table 2 shows the source of campaign contributions from 1972 to 2002. The data shows that from 1972 to 1978 (the year GOPAC started) average contributions had already doubled, from \$51,752 to \$111,232. The need for money was increasing to win a race was increasing and GOPAC joined the race.

Table 1. Sources of Campaign Contributions to House Candidates, 1972-2002.⁴⁴

⁴³ Jacobson 2004, page 40.

⁴⁴ Jacobson 2004, page 62.

	PERCENTAGE OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM:					
	Average Contributions	Individuals	Parties	PACs	Candidates ^a	Unknown
<i>House</i>						
1972	\$ 51,752 ^b	60 ^c	27	14	—	9
1974	\$ 61,084	73	4	17	6	—
1976	\$ 79,421	59	8	23	9	—
1978	\$ 111,232	61	5	25	9	—
1980	\$ 148,268	67 ^c	4	29	—	—
1982	\$ 222,260	63 ^c	6	31	—	—
1984	\$ 240,722	51	3	39	6	—
1986	\$ 280,260	52	2	39	7	—
1988	\$ 282,949	49	2	43	6	—
1990	\$ 291,246	48	1	44	7	—
1992	\$ 358,925	50	1	39	10	—
1994	\$ 414,812	54	1	37	8	—
1996	\$ 510,997	55	1	34	7	3
1998	\$ 544,349	53	1	36	6	4
2000	\$ 661,472	53	1	35	7	
2002	\$ 756,993	50	0.6	38	11	

The other main factor that effects whether a campaign is won is candidate quality. High quality candidates, on average, fair much better than their inexperienced opponents. Candidates in open house races are much more likely to win then their inexperienced counterparts. In races against incumbents, experienced challengers are almost four times as likely to defeat incumbents when compared to inexperienced challengers. These quality challengers are able to win because they are able to get more of the vote even when campaign spending and national tides are taken into account.⁴⁵

To illustrate that advantage that candidate quality plays here is a table:

⁴⁵ Gary C. Jacobson, *Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of U.S. House Elections, 1946–86* (American Political Science Review, Vol. 83, Pages 773–793). 1989.

Table 2. The Probability of Victory and the Quality of Nonincumbent Candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives, 1946-2002.⁴⁶

TYPE OF RACE	NUMBER OF CASES	WINNERS (%)	FORMER OFFICEHOLDERS (%)
<i>Open Seats</i>			
No general election opponent	87	100.0	70.1
Held by candidate's party	1,107	72.6	68.1
Held by neither party	286	50.0	48.6
Held by opposite party	1,107	27.4	39.5
Total	2,588	51.1	53.7
<i>Challengers to Incumbents</i>			
Incumbent's vote in last election (%)			
50.0–54.9	1,889	19.1	44.5
55.0–59.9	1,847	8.0	28.2
60.0–64.9	1,759	4.3	19.0
65.0–69.9	1,561	2.1	14.1
70.0 or more	2,364	0.5	8.6
unopposed	1,760	0.9	4.8
Total	11,180	5.7	19.7

Having an intuitive understanding of both the Democrats ability to control political offices from the state legislature to the White House and also the importance of experience, du Pont decided that Republicans needed to build a 'farm team'. A farm team in sports is a team or club that provides experience and training to younger players so that, in the future, they can move up to a more advanced league. Du Pont wanted to do a similar thing, but only for Republican candidates. Training young conservatives on how to win elections at the local level would help years later as those young conservatives would later be old and have the necessary experience to win congressional and state wide races. It would also take years for the organization's labors to come to fruition. In late 1978/early 1979, GOPAC started.

⁴⁶ Jaconson 2004, page 39.

Du Pont recalls:

“In the first year, we focused only on six states. Tennessee and Florida were two. We had a good enough year because we got a number of GOP state level candidates elected. It expanded a lot more after that when news of the success got around. We would talk to the Governor in a state and we would organize a \$1000 a plate dinner or something similar. We would talk with the Governor for a long time and we would decide upon the 20% or so Republican challengers that were running in the next state election and we would invite them to the dinner. Governors liked it because it gave them more friends in the capitol. Donors liked it because they knew their money was being well spent. Finally, challengers loved it because their chances of success sky rocked. States where there was no Governor, we would get a congressman or the GOP chairman. Overall, it was a great success.”⁴⁷

Within a few years, GOPAC grew to be a powerful political action committee. Its original structure was one of more of a banker or angel investor firm. GOPAC focused on competitive local, state, and municipal elections nationwide and would make direct contributions to promising candidates campaigns.⁴⁸

There is a saying by Speaker of the House Tip O’Neill that “All politics is local.” This means that voters care about what is near to them and less about national concerns. But the reality is that the advent of C-SPAN and other technological innovations (e.g. the 24-hour news cycle) changed politics. Since Democrats did not see this changed, it spawned the Gingrich corollary to “all politics is local”; “except when it is national”.⁴⁹ Du Pont and Gingrich were political entrepreneurs and saw a way for their party to take back Congress after so many years. Political action committees were new in politics and GOPAC was the vehicle that Gingrich and du Pont used.

⁴⁷ Du Pont interview with the Author.

⁴⁸ GOPAC, Inc. GOPAC’s History. <http://www.gopac.org/about/default.aspx>.

⁴⁹ Nicol C. Rae. New Majority or Old Minority?: The Impact of Republicans on Congress. (Unites States: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999). Page 189.

SECTION FOUR: NEWT TAKES OVER GOPAC

Section three was the ground work but this section is the final combination of Newt Gingrich's competitive attitude and the GOPAC organization that led to an effective candidate training machine with countless campaign seminars, workbooks, audiotapes, and grassroots organizing. Many argue that this base of well trained, professional Republican congressional candidates helped the GOP take back the House in 1994.

"The basic thing about GOPAC is you really believed in the cause and the people we got were the true believers. We got them believing we are going to control Congress. We're going to control the U.S. House." Howard 'Bo' Callaway, GOPAC Fundraiser⁵⁰

In 1986, Newt Gingrich took over GOPAC from Governor Pete du Pont, who was trying to run in the 1988 presidential election. GOPAC was founded to make a farm team for the Republican Party by helping recruit and assist candidates for the state and local offices. The main shift occurred when Gingrich shifted the organizational focus from supplying only money to supplying ideas, rationales, and motivation for candidates.

Du Pont recalled "GOPAC was very good. We ran in 79 and we had success. Then in 88, I was a presidential candidate so I had to get rid of GOPAC because people would stop giving. I sat down with my advisors and we thought that the best person to give it to would be Newt. So I called him and set up a lunch for the next time I would be in DC. I told him that I have a present for you and he immediately saw the potential. He also was much better and creative with GOPAC than I was. He began putting together 6 tapes for all candidates. He had the great idea of sending all the tapes gratis to anyone who wanted them. One tape would be on the financial questions of running a campaign; another would be on the right words to use while campaigning, etc. He was incredibly very successful and the whole tapes series worked remarkably well. Newt did a good job with it as he was the one who thought of the tapes."⁵¹

This shift was important as Newt began sending candidates tapes on tactics, strategies, and issues. This inspired many people to run for local and, eventually, federal offices. Slowly, as more and more people ran for local and then federal offices, Newt's influence grew. By the 104th Congress, most freshman congressmen had received help from either Newt or GOPAC, either

⁵⁰ Boyer, *Long March*.

⁵¹ Du Pont interview with the Author.

financially or strategically. Speaker Gingrich confirmed this when he saw a list of the GOP Freshman from the 101st to 104th Congresses and said that “at least 75% of them we did fundraisers for and they also listened to the GOPAC tapes.”⁵²

Gingrich recalled “Pete Du Pont approached me in the fall of 1984. Du Pont founded GOPAC with the idea to raise money for local candidates. He was beginning to look at a presidential race and he wanted GOPAC to survive so he would be seen as an institution builder. He had the choice between me and Dick Cheney and I guess he chose me because I was more of an activists. There was a high dollar fun fundraiser in 1985 and I walked in and saw the amount of wealthy friends that Du Pont had. I saw so much potential that this organization and this wealth could provide. In 1985 and 1986 I studied and saw that the party needed a training institution, not a funding institution. The problem was that I did not know how to change it. A few months later, I was out in Lansing, Michigan doing a tape series and it suddenly hit me that most legislators spent long hours in the car. If we had a training and recruiting system that could reach them while they were driving, we would have their full attention. They would be bored and would like to listen to us. It was a constant and mobile training program.”⁵³

GOPAC under Newt changed from one that supplied local conservative candidates with money to one that also supplied them with ideas and training to run a campaign. Gingrich wanted to inspire young conservative leaders and giving them money was not the only way he saw to do it. After taking over in 1986, Newt changed GOPAC’s strategic priorities to educate and inspire candidates in addition to funding them. He made videos and tapes for candidates to listen to, pamphlets to read, and seminars on how to win elections. The effects of his changes accelerated the trickle up effect into a torrent.

Eddie Mahe, GOPAC Political Consultant recalls. “There were two of us, myself and Owen Roberts of Florida, in a GOPAC meeting several years ago, who promoted the idea of starting the tape program for GOPAC, which I believe did more than any single thing that we ever have done since Newt came up here to parlay his language, his vision, his positioning, his rhetoric, his knowledge out across the country to 10,000 people, 10,000 up-and-coming political leaders every month.”⁵⁴

⁵² Newt Gingrich interview with the Author. As a footnote, the Author tried to look through GOPAC’s records to exactly who had received help from GOPAC, either through tapes, seminars, or donations, but unfortunately GOPAC had lost all of its records before 2000.

⁵³ Newt Gingrich interview with the Author.

⁵⁴ Boyer, *Long March*.

Newt agreed. “The vacuum was so enormous that our GOPAC tapes had an effect almost overnight. One night, a friend of mine introduced me to Jim Green, who was he was living in the Philadelphia suburbs. He said to me that the first time he heard me tapes, he thought I was crazy. The second time he heard, he was intrigued. By the third time he got my tapes, he said he was going to run for Congress. We were filling an idea vacuum and we were creating an idea base in the Republican Party.”⁵⁵

Of the 154 freshman Republican Congressmen that entered Congress from the 101st to the 104th Congress, the majority of them were helped by Newt Gingrich and GOPAC and these new Congressmen were sure to remember it.⁵⁶ Their views on GOPAC and the tapes series can best be summarized by a Congressman from Pennsylvania who was elected to the 102nd Congress and won a seat to the United States Congress in the 104th Congress. Rick Santorum said that “GOPAC tapes were incredibly helpful to educate me on issues and the underlying conservative principles. They also were greatly helpful in the education of strategy and tactics on how to win a political election. I listened to them no stop as I campaigned.”⁵⁷

One of the clear examples of the memos that instructed candidates on how to win was “Language: A Key Mechanism of Control.” In this memo, it is noted that language is the “key mechanism of control used by a majority party”. It also notes that many candidates have said that they wish they “could speak like Newt.” Language can have a big impact on a campaign, so the memo created a list of words to learn. “The words and phrases are powerful. Read them, memorize as many as possible. And remember that like any tool, these words will not help if they are not used.” The memo has two separate sets of lists. The first set of lists is “Optimistic Positive Governing Words” and included words like: care(ing), children, liberty, peace, pioneer, truth, lead, etc. The other list is “Contrasting Words” and tells them that “these are powerful words that create a clear and easily understood contrast. Apply these to the opponent, their

⁵⁵ Newt Gingrich interview with the Author.

⁵⁶ Mildred Amer, *Freshmen in the House of Representatives and Senate by Political Party 1913-2005* (Washington D.C.: CRS Report for Congress, June 16, 2005). <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

⁵⁷ Rick Santorum interview with the Author.

record, proposals, and their party.” The words include: abuse of power, betray, bosses, cheat, pathetic, red tape, shallow, taxes, etc.⁵⁸

Candidates were not only taught by the tapes, they were inspired. Speaker

(Representative at the time) Gingrich: [GOPAC training tape]

“You favor a political revolution. You want to replace the welfare state with an opportunity society. You favor workfare over Welfare. You want to lock prisoners up and you're actually prepared to give up some political pork barrel to build as many prisons as you need...If you'll fly with us, work with us, fight with us, we are going to create a real revolution, we are going to replace the welfare state.”⁵⁹

By 1994, the organization had reached its perfect form. It could give money to candidates and train them as well. From 1986 to 1995, GOPAC, with Newt at its helm, was able to raise more than \$15 million to recruit and train new conservatives. Newt was able to raise these vast sums of money from a group of ideological businessmen and entrepreneurs. This list of donors, originally private and closely guarded, is now public. The men include J. Patrick Rooney, of Golden Rule Insurance Company, who gave \$150,000; Owen Robert, financial planner, \$350,000; Terry Kohler, of a bathroom fixture company, who gave \$785,000. This group of donors agreed politically with GOPAC's goals and donated to help achieve a Republican takeover of Congress.⁶⁰

The best way to show the growth that GOPAC achieved would be in Governor du Pont's own words: "When I came back to GOPAC charter meetings after Newt became chairman, I was meeting people I had never seen before. He really broadened the base.”⁶¹ Through Newt's fundraising and his tapes, GOPAC was able to fund and inspire many Republicans to run. Ultimately, Gingrich was able to take back the House of Representatives.

⁵⁸ Language: A Key Mechanism of Control. GOPAC memo. <http://web.utk.edu/~glenn/GopacMemo.html>.

⁵⁹ Boyer, *Long March*.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Pete du Pont Quotes. <http://www.focusdep.com/quotes/topics/art/start/613/>.

SECTION FIVE: CONCLUSION

After years of work for Newt and GOPAC, the 1994 election was the fruit of their labors. 73 freshman Republicans were elected.⁶² Although the overall cause of the Republican takeover was probably an anti-incumbency feeling and an anti-Clinton feeling, Republicans also won because they fielded superior candidates. In 1994, experienced Republican challengers won 43 percent of the races they entered. Not only did the Republicans have better candidates, they also spent more money than their Democratic colleagues. These experienced candidates with bigger war chest helped the Republicans nationally win a large number of seats.⁶³

A positive advantage of this year was the strategic retirements by Democrats. Although there was the same amount as previous years (around 11 percent), the majority of the Republicans who retired left to run for higher office (thirteen of twenty, 65 percent). The majority of the Democrats, on the other hand, retired from public life (twenty of twenty-seven, 71 percent). This was the trickle up effect in action.⁶⁴

An additional sign on the strength of the Republicans was that for the first time since the World War II, Democrats conceded more seats to Republicans (thereby leaving them uncontested; thirty-five), then Republicans did to Democrats (seventeen).⁶⁵

A final sign of Republican strength was the overall quality of candidates. As noted early, Democrats had a farm system of state offices to pool from for new candidates. On average, Democratic incumbents faced Republican challengers with elective experience only 16 percent of the time while Republicans face Democratic challengers with elective experience 26 percent. 1992 bucked the trend with Republicans fielding a more experienced crop of candidates. In 1994,

⁶² Amer, *Freshmen in the House*.

⁶³ Jacobson 2004, pages 182-183.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

the Democrats had such a hard time finding quality candidates that only 14 percent of incumbent Republicans face experienced Democratic challengers.⁶⁶

The Republicans' success in 1994 was not only limited to the Federal level. Republicans were able to gain 472 legislative seats and pick up twelve gubernatorial seats. All these legislators added up to control of 20 state legislatures. This meant that for the first time since 1972, Republicans controlled a majority of the governorships. It also meant that for the first time in 50 years, Republicans controlled a majority of the state legislatures. While this was a truly historic achievement, it did not happen overnight.⁶⁷

To more fully understand how Republicans were able to take back control of Congress, it is necessary to look at the freshman classes from the 93rd (1974) to the 104th (1994) Congresses.

The following is a graph which shows the number of entering freshmen from the 93rd to the 104th Congress. The blue columns are the total number of GOP freshmen and the red columns are freshmen who are entering that are quality freshmen (i.e. have previous elective experience). As can be seen, the average number of Republican freshmen entering Congress varied from year to year. If one looks closely, the red columns slowly inches up to include a greater and greater number of the freshmen Congressmen. This means that over time, more and more Republican Congressmen entering Congress have elective experience.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Jeremy P. Jacobs, *Devastation: GOP Picks Up 680 State Leg. Seats*. (National Journal, November 4, 2010. <http://hotlineoncall.nationaljournal.com/archives/2010/11/devastation-gop.php>); Republican Revolution. Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republican_Revolution

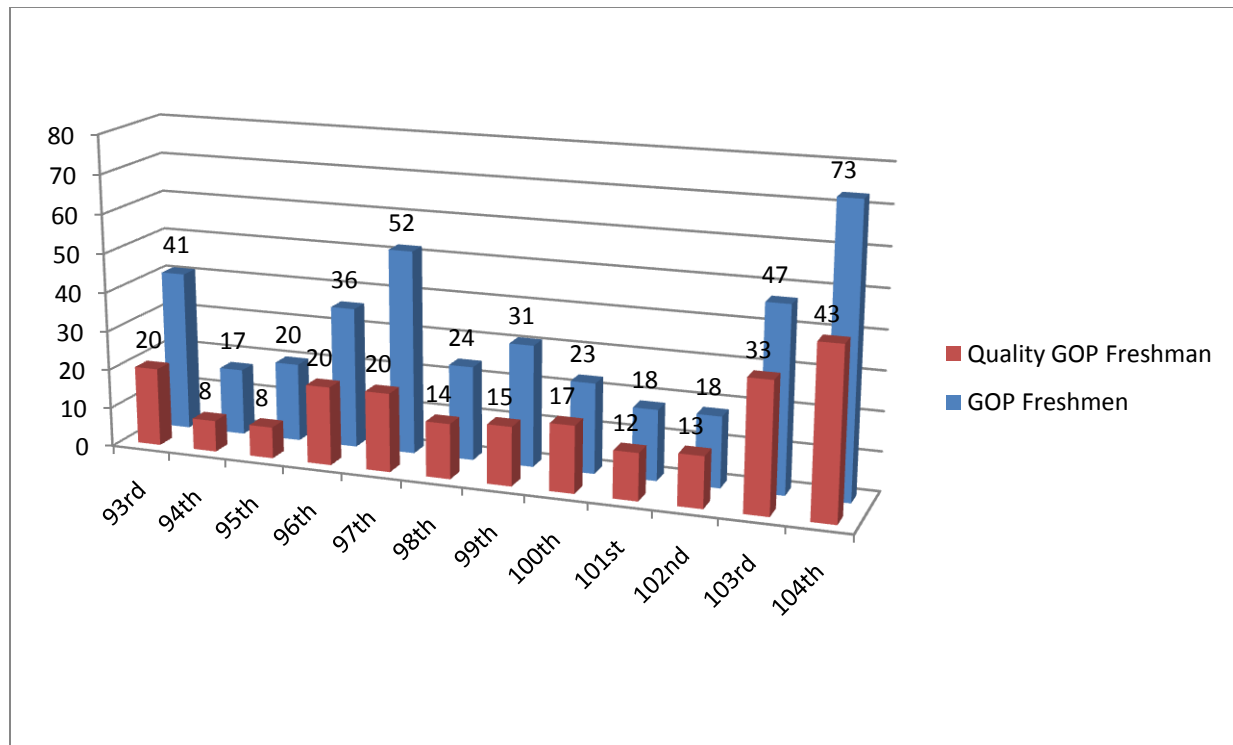


Figure 8: GOP Freshmen Congressmen from the 93rd to the 104th Congress.⁶⁸

To more fully understand the increase in quality Republican Congressmen, Figure 4 shows the percentages.

⁶⁸ Compiled by the Author from Congressional Directories, 93rd-104th Congresses.

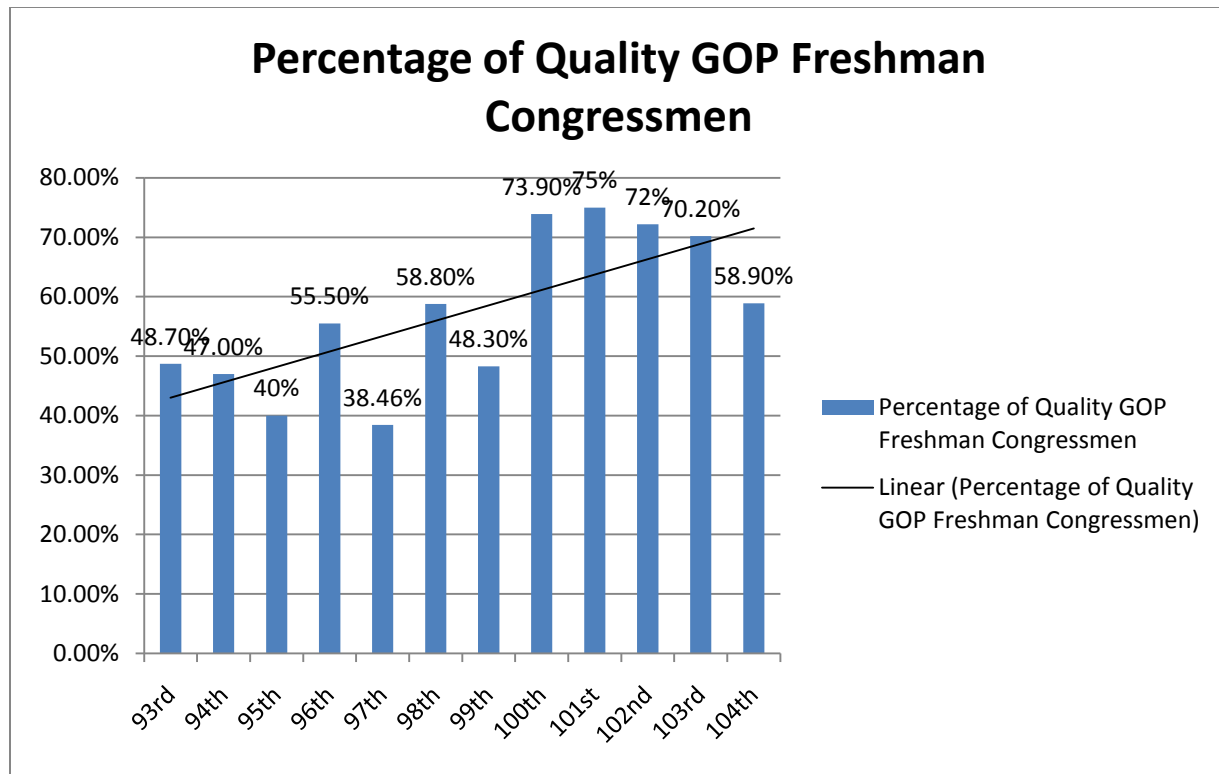


Figure 9: Percentage of Quality GOP Freshman Congressmen from the 93rd to the 94th Congresses.⁶⁹

As can be by the black line, the average Republican freshman Congressman increased from 48.7% quality (meaning that 48.7% of the freshman GOP Congressmen had previous experience) to just under 70%. What these figures show is that over time, a greater number of freshman Congressmen had previous elected experience. But this does not show the full picture. This greater number of quality candidates is most likely a side effect of an increase in state level Republicans. While we know that there was a change from the 1978 election (when du Pont decided to start GOPAC) to the 1994 election (Democrats controlled three-fourths of the state legislatures to controlling less than half in 1994), the change was not all at once. A great example

⁶⁹ Compiled by the Author from Congressional Directories, 93rd-104th Congresses. As a footnote, a better and more useful understanding of the effects of Gingrich on Republican candidate quality would be looking at all the Republican challengers from 1974 to 1994 and look at quality of these challengers (both winners and losers). Unfortunately, such data was hard to come by and spotty. The Author therefore only used GOP freshmen from 93rd to 104th Congress as it was the most complete measure.

to use is Virginia. The following is a graph showing the number of Republicans in Virginia State government.

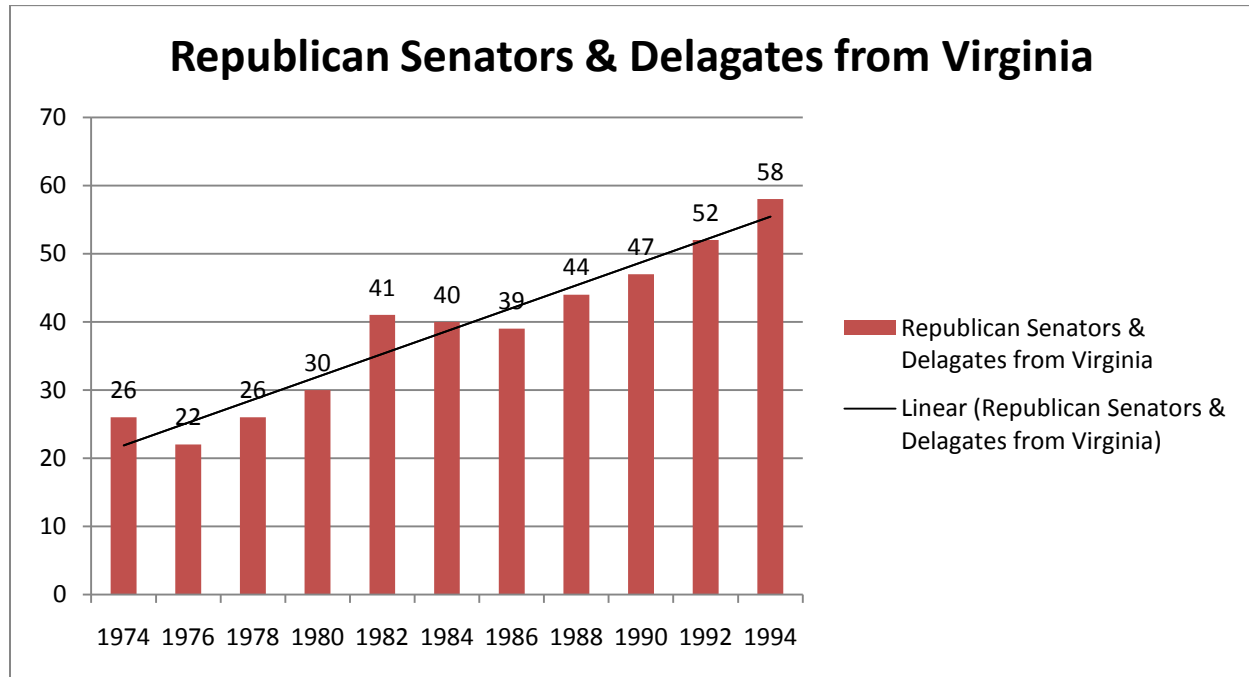


Figure 10: VA Republican Senators & Delegates from 1974 to 1994.⁷⁰

As can be seen from the figure, the number of Republicans in Virginia State Legislature increased slowly but surely from a modest 6 Republican Senators and 20 Republican Delegates to 19 Senators and 39 Delegates. This change from 26 to 58 clearly did not happen overnight, but took twenty years. This process was a slow one and probably happened because of the party's ideological realignment (i.e. conservative versus liberal) and the after effects of the southern sweep strategy but that is not the topic of this paper. The important point to show is that Virginia,

⁷⁰ Compiled by the Author from VA State Manual. General Assembly of Virginia, Manual of Senate and House of Delegates Session 1974, 1976, 1980, 1986, & 1988 and from The Almanac of Virginia Politics by Woman Activists Fund, 1978, 1982, 1984, 1990, 1992, & 1994.

and many other states, had a slow, but gradual, growth of Republicans to a point that in 1994 they controlled a majority of the state legislatures in America. This increase only helped Republicans as they were continually able to find new quality candidates to challenge Democrats or replace Republicans who retired or passed away.

The conclusion from all this is that Republicans had more money and were able to field better candidates than they had been in a long time. By the 1994 election, Republicans had much more money than ever before as result of political action committees and wealthy donors and they were also able to field better quality candidates (on average) than ever before. Because of these two factors (money and quality, arguable the two most important factors), Republicans were able to control a majority of the state legislatures and governorships. They were also able to take back control of the House of Representative and the Senate for the first time in decades. Although Du Pont, Gingrich, and GOPAC do not deserve all the credit, the role they played as political entrepreneurs certainly help the Republicans achieve all of these politically remarkable feats.

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SECTION SEVEN: APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Interview with Newt Gingrich

1. When did you first come up with the idea of creating a COS vs. the LWS?
A: late 1982, I began writing about. The society versus state is a clear way of drawing distinction. In order to draw a smack unit that was comprehensive that was active. Vin Weber, last day of lame duck session said, Newt said what would you like to do for the next ten years. I am staying here. Let's do something together.
2. When were you first contacted about taking over GOPAC?
A: Pete Dupont approached me in the fall of 1984. Du Pont founded the idea to raise money for local candidates my direct mail. Du Pont was beginning to look at a presidential race and he wanted GOPAC to survive so he would be seen as an institution builder. Du Pont had the choice between me and Cheney and I guess he chose me because I was more activist. I was at the high dollar fundraiser in 1985, and he saw the wealth. In 85 and 86, I studied and say that the party needs a training institution not a funding institution. I went out to Lansing, Michigan doing a tape series and it suddenly hit me that most legislators spent long hours in the car and if we had a system so that if they are bored they can turn us on. Constant training program.
3. When/how did you come up with the idea to change GOPAC from more of a
4. Vacuum was so enormous that had an effect almost overnight. Jim Green introduced me overnight and he was living in the Philly suburbs. Third time he got a tape he said he was going to run for congress. We were filling an idea vacuum and we were creating an idea base in the Republican party
5. American solutions. Campaign solutions by Joe Gaylord. Follow on to book called flying upside down. Joe has been my partner for 30 years. Begam national state legislature.
6. Other person important is a consultant Du Pont top consultant.
7. Newt said ok to GOPAC.
8. Pete is a law firm in Wilmington. Also chair of council for national policy. Go to Wilmington press Du Pont IV, he is at a law firm.

Appendix B: Interview with Pete DuPont

1. When and how did you come up with the idea of starting GOPAC?

A: the idea came up in 1978 and came up and only 12 GOP governors after I had been sworn in. Bailey Deardourff helped me get elected. They said we are not going to get more governors unless we get legislative politicians to work with it would be easier. We talked to the other 11 governors to get the GOPAC committee and they said they would be glad to help. When we did an event in the state, we thought we could get some republicans elected. the 11th governor was the governor of Vermont was snelling and he thought it was terrible. I convinced him. We would have a fundraiser and it would all go into GOIPAC and GOPAC would give it back to tight state races. I would fly out to close races. That is the whole theory.

A: the strategy was help the good people win some. have really good people, can't have son of somebody. The idea became really popular and state such as Oklahoma would call and ask for help

2. What was the basic philosophy and strategy for GOPAC?

A: we donated to exclusively to state legislatures. Bailey Deardorf. He has some doubt. Bailey is his name.

3. What were the qualifications for a local or state candidate that GOPAC would donate to?

4. Were there any memorable people/consultants that worked for GOPAC in the early years?

A: Doug Bailey. Couple of staff people.

5. Who were some of your early candidates that you remember?

6. When did you decide to give up the reins and who did you choose to take over from you and why?

A: GOPAC was so good. We ran maybe in 78, we had success. Then in 88, I was a predisposed candidate so I had to get rid of GOPAC because people would stop giving. We decided the person to give it to would be Newt. We had lunch one day in DC and I said to him I have a present for you. He was much better than I was. He began putting together 6 tapes for all candidates. They would send you're the tapes and one was on financial questions, etc. he was very successful. That worked really well. he gave it to

7. Are there any other important things about GOPAC that you can remember?

A: might talk to Lamar Alexander. He said that would be the best thing in the world.

A: I think it was successful. Newt gave it to JC Watts.

A: in the first year, we focused only on six states, Tennessee and Florida was one. We had a good enough year because it got a number a GOP elected. It expanded a lot more after that when news of the success got around.

A: there were a few complaints by people who were running for LT governor who wanted money but we were only trying for state legislatures. We would talk to the Governor in the state and we would say it is a 1000 plate dinner. We want you to pick the 20% you think you could win. Governors liked it. States where there was no governor, we would get a congressman or the GOP chairman.

A: Doug baliery was one who thought it all through and getting the republican party going again.

A: Newt did a good job with it as he was the one who thought of the tapes.

Appendix C: GOP Freshmen from 93rd to 104th Congress

93rd Congress Freshman

		Democrats	Republicans
	Net change from previous Congress	240	192
		27	41
New Members	Previous political Experience		Party
Abdnor, James	Y		R
Armstrong, William	Y		R
Bafalis, LA	Y		R
Beard, Robin	N		R
Burgener, Clair	Y		R
Cochran, Thad	N		R
Cohen, William	N		R
Conlan, John	Y		R
Cronin, Paul	y		R
Froehlich, Harold	y		R
Gilman, Benjamin	y		R
Guyer, Tennyson	n		R
Hanrahan, Robert	n		R
Hinshaw, Andrew	n		R
Holt, Marjorie	n		R
Huber, Robert	y		R
Hudnut, William	n		R
Johnson, James	n		R
Ketchum, William	y		R
Lott, Trent	n		R
Madigan, Edward	y		R
Marazitti, Joseph	y		R
Martin, James	n		R
Mitchell, Donald	y		R
Moorhead, Carlos	y		R
O'Brien, George	n		R
Parris, Stanford	y		R
Pritchard, Joel	y		R
Regula, Ralph	n		R
Rinaldo, Matthew	y		R
Roncallo, Angelo	n		R
Sarasin, Ronald	n		R

Shuster, EG	n	R
Steelman, Alan	n	R
Symms, Steven	n	R
Towell, David	n	R
Walsh, William	y	R
Young, Donald	y	R
Young, Edward	y	R
Young, Samuel	n	R

total quality congressman: 20
percentage of quality
congressman vs freshman 48.70%

Source: Congressional Directory, 93rd congress, First Session. 1973. United States Government Printing Office. Washington: 1973.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

94rd Congress Freshman

	Democrats	Repbliucans
	289	144
Net change from previous Congress	75	17

	Previous political Expiernce	Party
New Members		
Ambro, Jerome	y	R
Emery, David	n	R
Fenwick, Millicent	y	R
Goodling, William	n	R
Gradison, Willis	y	R
Grassley, Charles	y	R
Hagedorn, tom	n	R
Hyde, Henry	y	R
Jeffords, James	y	R
Kasten, Robert	n	R
Kelly, Richard	n	R
Kindness, thomas	n	R
Moore, Henson	y	R
Myers, Gary	n	R
Pressler, Larry	n	R

Schulze, Richard	y	R
Smith, Virginia	n	R

total quality congressman: 8

percentage of quality

congressman vs freshman 47.00%

Source: Congressional Directory, 94th congress, First Session. 1975. United States Government Printing Office. Washington: 1975.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

95th Congress Freshman

	Democrat s	Repbliucan s
Net change from previous Congress	289	144
	47	20

New Members	Previous political Experience	Party
Badham, Robert	y	R
Caputo, Bruce	y	R
Edwards, Mickey	n	R
Evans, Thomas	n	R
Hollenbeck, Harold	y	R
Leach, James	n	R
Marks, Marc	y	R
Marlenee, Ron	n	R
Marriott, David	n	R
Pursell, Carl	y	R
Quayle, Danforth	n	R
Rudd, Eldon	y	R
Sawyer, Harold	n	R
Stangeland, Arlan	y	R
Steers, Newton	n	R
Stockman, David	n	R
Tribble, Paul	y	R
Walker, Robert	n	R

total quality congressman: 8

percentage of quality congressman vs 40%

freshman

Source: Congressional Directory, 95th congress, First Session. 1977. United States Government Printing Office. Washington: 1977.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

96th Congress Freshman

		Democrats	Republicans
		276	157
	Net change from previous Congress	41	36
	Previous political Experience	Party	
New Members			
Bereuter, Douglas	y		R
Bethune, Ed	n		R
Campbell, Carroll	y		R
Carney, William	y		R
Cheney, Richard	n		R
Clinger, William	n		R
Courter, James	n		R
Crane, Daniel	n		R
Dannemeyer, William	y		R
Davis, Robert	y		R
Deckard, Joel	y		R
Dougherty, Charles	y		R
Gingrich, Newt	n		R
Grisham, Wayne	y		R
Hinson, Jon	n		R
Hopkins, Larry	y		R
Jefferies, Jim	n		R
Krammer, Kenneth	y		R
Lee, Gary	y		R
lewis, Jerry	y		R
Loeffler, Tom	n		R
Lungren, Daniel	n		R
Pashayan, Charles	n		R
Ritter, Don	n		R
Roth, Toby	y		R
Sensenbrenner, James	y		R
Shumway, Norman	y		R

Snowe, Olympia	y	R
Solomon, Gerald	y	R
Tauke, thomas	n	R
thomas, William	y	R
Whittaker, bob	y	R
Williams, Lyle	y	R

total quality congressman: 20

percentage of quality congressman

vs freshman 55.50%

Source: Congressional Directory, 96th congress, First Session. 1979. United States Government Printing Office. Washington: 1979.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

97th Congress Freshman

		Democrats	Republicans
		242	189
	Net change from previous Congress	22	52
	Previous political Experience		Party
New Members			
Benedict, Cleve	n		R
Bliley, Thomas	y		R
Brown, Hank	y		R
Carman, Gregory	n		R
Chappie, Eugene	y		R
Coats, Dan	n		R
Coyne, James	y		R
Craig, Larry	y		R
Daub, Hal	n		R
DeNardis, Lawrence	n		R
Dreier, Dave	n		R
Dunn, Jim	n		R
Emerson, Bill	n		R
Evans, Cooper	y		R
Fiedler, Bobbi	y		R
Fields, Jack	n		R

Gregg, Judd	y	R
Gunderson, Steven	y	R
Hansen, James	y	R
Harnett, thomas	y	R
Hiler, John patrick	n	R
Hunter, Duncan	n	R
Leboutillier, John	n	R
Lowery, Bill	y	R
Martin, David	n	R
Martin, Lynn	y	R
McCollum, Bill	n	R
McEwen, bob	y	R
McGrath, Raymond	y	R
Molinari, Guy	y	R
Morrison, Sid	y	R
Napier, John	n	R
Nelligan, James	n	R
Roberts, Clint	n	R
Rogers, Harold	n	R
Roukema, Marge	n	R
Schnieder, Claudine	n	R
Shaw, Clay	y	R
Skeen, Joe	y	R
Smith, Albert	y	R
Smith, Christopher	n	R
Smith, Denny	n	R
Staton, Mick	n	R
Weber, Ed	n	R
Weber, Vin	n	R
Wolf, Frank	n	R
Wortley, george	n	R

total quality congressman: 20

percentage of quality congressman vs
freshman 38.46

Source: Congressional Directory, 97th congress, First Session. 1981. United States
Government Printing Office. Washington: 1981.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

98th Congress Freshman

		Democrats	Republicans
		268	167
	Net change from previous Congress	57	24
New Members	Previous political Experience		Party
Bartlett, Steve	y		R
Bateman, Herbert	y		R
Bilirakis, Michael	n		R
Boehlert, Sherwood	y		R
Chandler, rod	y		R
DeWine, Michael	y		R
gekas, george	y		R
Johnson, Nancy	y		R
Kasich, John	y		R
Lewis, thomas	y		R
Mack, Connie	y		R
McCandless, Alfred	y		R
McKernan, John	y		R
Nielson, Howard	y		R
Ridge, Thomas	n		R
Schaefer, Daniel	y		R
Smith, Robert	n		R
Vucanovich, Barabara	n		R
Zschau, edwin	n		R

total quality congressman: 13

percentage of quality congressman
vs freshman 58.8

Source: Congressional Directory, 98th congress, First Session. 1983. United States Government Printing Office. Washington: 1983.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

99th Congress Freshman

Democrats	Republicans
253	182

Net change from previous Congress	12	31
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New Members	Previous political Experience
Armey, Richard	n
Barton, Joe	n
Bentley, helen	n
Boulter, Beau	y
Callahan, HL	y
Cobey, William	n
Coble, Howard	y
Combest, Larry	n
Delay, Tom	y
DioGuardi, Joseph	n
Eckart, Fred	y
Fawell, Harris	n
Gallo, Dean	y
Grotberg, John	y
Henry, Paul	y
Kolbe, Jim	y
Lightfoot, Jim Ross	n
McMillian J Alex	y
Meyers, Jan	y
Miller, John	y
Monson, David, Smith	y
Rowland, John	y
Schuette, Bill	n
Slaughter, D French	y
Smith, Robert C	n
Strang, Micheal	n
Sweeney, Mac	n
Swindall, Pat	n

total quality congressman:	15
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percentage of quality congressman vs freshman	48.3
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Source: Congressional Directory, 99th congress, First Session. 1985. United States Government Printing Office. Washington: 1985.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

100th Congress Freshman

	Democrats	Republicans
	258	177
Net change from previous Congress	27	23

New Members	Previous political Experience
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Baker, Richard Hugh	y
Buechner, Jack	y
Bunning, Jim	y
Davis, Jack	y
gallegly, Elton	y
grandy, Fred	n
Hastert, Dennis	y
Hefley, Joel	y
Herger, Wally	y
Holloway, Clyde	y
Houghton, Amo	n
Inhofe, James	y
konnyu, Ernest	y
Kyl, Jon	n
Morella, Constance	y
Ravenel, Arthur	y
Rhodes, John	y
Saiki, Patricia	y
Smith, Lamar	y
Upton, fred	n
Weldon, Curt	y

total quality congressman:	17
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percentage of quality congressman vs freshman	73.9
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Source: Congressional Directory, 100th congress, First Session. 1987. United States Government Printing Office. Washington: 1987.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

101th Congress Freshman

	Democrats	Republicans
Net change from previous Congress	251	183
	17	16

New Members	Previous political Experience	State	Party
Cambell, Tom	y	CA	R
Cox, C. Christopher	n	CA	R
Douglas, Charles	y	NH	R
Gillmor, Paul	y	OH	R
Goss, Porter	y	FL	R
Machtley, Ronald	n	RI	R
Paxon, Bill	y	NY	R
Rohrabacher, Dana	n	CA	R
Schiff, Steven	y	NM	R
Smith, Larkin	y	MISS	R
Smith, Peter	y	VT	R
Stearns, Cliff	n	FL	R
Walsh, James	y	NY	R
Thomas, Craig	n	WYO	R
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	y	FL	R
Molinari, Susan	y	NY	R

total quality congressman: 12

percentage of quality congressman

vs freshman 75%

Source: Congressional Directory, 101st congress, First Session. 1989. United States Government Printing Office. Washington: 1989.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

102nd Congress Freshman

	Democrat s	Republican s
Net change from previous Congress	270	164
	25	18

New Members	Previous political Experience
Allard, Wayne (Colo)	y
Barrett, Bill (Neb)	y
Boehner, John (Ohio)	y
Camp, Dave (Mich)	y
Cunningham, Randy 'Duke' (CA)	n
Doolittle, John (CA)	y
Franks, Gary (Conn)	y
Gilchrest, Wayne (MD)	n
Hobson, David (OH)	y
Klug, Scott (Wis)	n
Nichols, Dick (Kan)	n
Nussle, Jim (Iowa)	y
Ramstad, Jim (Minn)	y
Riggs, Frank (CA)	n
Santorum, Rick (PA)	n
Taylor, Charles (NC)	y
Zeliff, Bill (NH)	n
Zimmer, Dick (NJ)	y
Johnson, Sam (TX)	y
Ewing, Thomas (Ill)	y

total quality congressman: 13

percentage of quality congressman vs
freshman 72.20%

Source: Congressional Directory, 102nd congress, First Session. 1991. United States
Government Printing Office. Washington: 1991.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

103rd Congress Freshman

	Democrat s	Republican s
	258	176
Net change from previous Congress	63	47

New Members	Previous political Experience	State	Party
Bachus, Spencer (Ala)	y		
Baker, Bill (CA)	y		
Barlett, Roscoe (MD)	n		
Blute, Peter (Mass)	y		
Bonilla, Henry (TX)	n		
Buyer, Steve (Ind)	n		
Calvert, Ken (CA)	n		
Canady, Charles (FL)	y		
Castle, Michael (DE)	y		
Collins, Mac (GA)	y		
Crapo, Michael (Idaho)	y		
Diaz-Balart, Lincoln (FL)	y		
Dickey, Jay (Ark)	n		
Dunn, Jennifer (Wash)	y		
Everett, Terry (Ala)	n		
Fowler, Tillie (FL)	y		
Franks, Bob (NJ)	y		
Goodlatte, Robert (VA)	n		
Grams, Rod (Minn)	n		
Greenwood, James (PA)	y		
Hoekstra, Peter (Mich)	n		
Hoke, Martin (OH)	n		
Horn, Steve (CA)	n		
Huffington, Michael (CA)	n		
Hutchinson, Tim (Ark)	y		
Inglis, Bob (SC)	n		
Istook, Ernest Jim Jr. (OK)	y		
Kim, Jay (CA)	y		
King, Peter (NY)	y		
Kingston, Jack (GA)	y		
Knollenberg, Joe (Mich)	n		
Lazio, Rick (NY)	y		
Levy, David (NY)	y		
Linder, John (GA)	y		
Manzullo, Donald (Ill)	n		
McHugh, John (NY)	y		
McInnis, Scott (CO)	y		
McKeon, Howard P. 'Buck' (CA)	y		

Mica, John (FL)	y
Miller, Dan (FL)	n
Pombo, Richard (CA)	y
Pryce, Deborah (OH)	y
Royce, Ed (CA)	y
Smith, Nick (Mich)	y
Talent, James (MO)	y
Torkildsen, Peter (Mass)	y
Portman, Rob (OH)	n
Ehlers, Vernon (Mich)	y
Lucas, Frank (OK)	y
Lewis, Ron (KY)	n
Largent, Steve (OK)	n
Riggs, Frank (CA)	y

total quality congressman: 33

percentage of quality congressman vs
freshman 70.20%

Source: Congressional Directory, 103rd congress, First Session. 1993. United States
Government Printing Office. Washington: 1993.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

104th Congress Freshman

	Democrat s	Republican s
	204	230
Net change from previous Congress	13	73

New Members	Previous political Experience
Barr, Bob (GA)	n
Bass, Charles (NH)	y
Bilbray, Brian (CA)	y
Bono, Sonny (CA)	y
Brownback, Sam (Kan)	n
Bryant, Ed (Tenn)	n
Bunn, Jim (NC)	y

Chabot, Steve (OH)	y
Chambliss, Saxby (GA)	n
Chenoweth, Helen (Idaho)	n
Christensen, Jon (Neb)	n
Chryler, Dick (Mich)	n
Coburn, Tom (OK)	n
Cooley, Wes (Ore)	y
Cremeans, Frank (OH)	n
Cubin, Barbara (Wyo)	y
Davis, Thomas (VA)	y
Ehrlich, Robert (MD)	y
English, Phil (PA)	y
Ensign, John (Nev.)	n
Flanagan, Michael (Ill)	n
Foley, Mark (FL)	y
Forbes, Michael (FL)	y
Fox, Jon (PA)	y
Frelinghuysen, Rodney (NJ)	y
Frisa, Daniel (NY)	y
Funderburk, David (NJ)	n
Ganske, Greg (Iowa)	n
Graham, Lindsey (SC)	y
Gutknecht, Gil (Minn)	y
Hastings, Richard 'Doc' (Wash)	y
Hayworth, J.D. (Ariz)	y
Heineman, Fred (NC)	y
Hilleary, Van (Tenn)	n
Hostettler, John (Ind)	n
Jones, Walter (NC)	y
Kelly, Sue (NY)	n
LaHood, Ray (Ill)	y
Latham, Tom (Iowa)	n
LaTourette, Steven (Ohio)	y
LoBiondo, Frank (NJ)	y
Longley, James (Maine)	n
Martini, Bill (NJ)	y
McIntosh, David (Ind)	n
Metcalf, Jack (Wash)	y
Myrich, Sue (NC)	y
Nethercutt, George (Wash)	n
Neumann, Mark (Wis)	n

Ney, Bob (Ohio)	y
Norwood, Charlie (GA)	n
Radanovich, George (CA)	y
Salmon, Matt (AZ)	y
Sanford, Mark (SC)	n
Scarborough, Joe (FL)	n
Seastrand, Andrea (CA)	y
Shadegg, John (AZ)	y
Smith, Linda (Wash)	y
Souder, Mark (Ind)	n
Stockman, Steve (TX)	n
Tate, Randy (Wash.)	y
Thornberry, William 'Mac' (TX)	n
Tiahrt, Todd (Kan)	y
Waldholtz, Enid Greene (Utah)	n
Wamp, Zach (Tenn)	n
Weldon, Curt (FL)	y
Weller, Jerry (Ill)	y
White, Rick (Wash)	y
Whitfield, Edard (Ky)	y
Wicker, Roger (Miss)	y
Watts, J.C. (OK)	y

total quality congressman: 43

percentage of quality congressman vs
freshman 58.90%

Source: Congressional Directory, 104th congress, First Session. 1995. United States
Government Printing Office. Washington: 1995.

Source: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/57877.pdf>

Overall info from 93rd to 104th congress:

Congress	freshman	quality freshman	percentage
93rd	41	20	48.70%
94th	17	8	47.00%
95th	20	8	40%

96th	36	20	55.50%
97th	52	20	38.46%
98th	24	14	58.80%
99th	31	15	48.30%
100th	23	17	73.90%
101st	18	12	75%
102nd	18	13	72.20%
103rd	47	33	70.20%
104th	73	43	58.90%

Congress	percentage
93rd	48.70%
94th	47.00%
95th	40%
96th	55.50%
97th	38.46%
98th	58.80%
99th	48.30%
100 th	73.90%
101st	75%

102nd

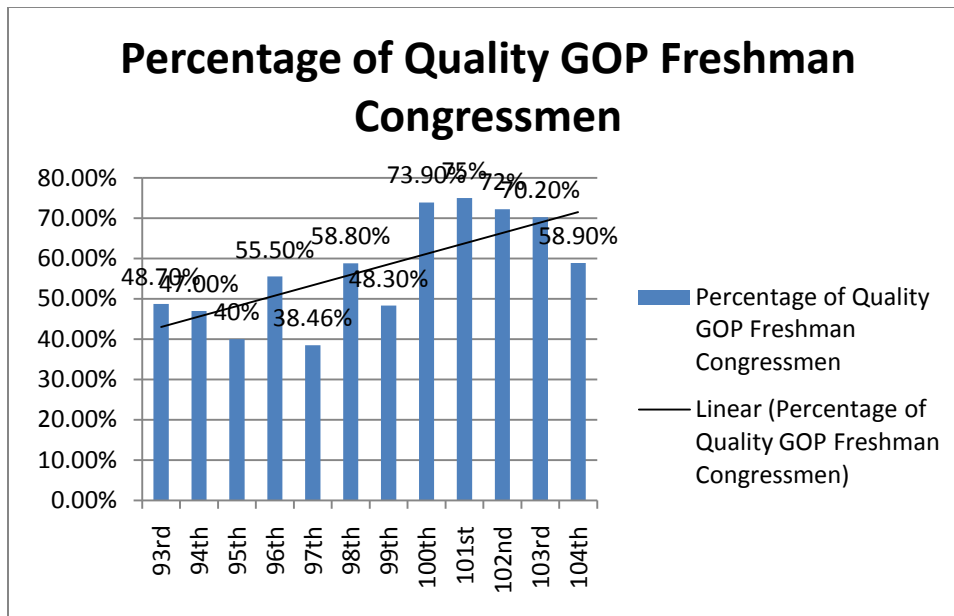
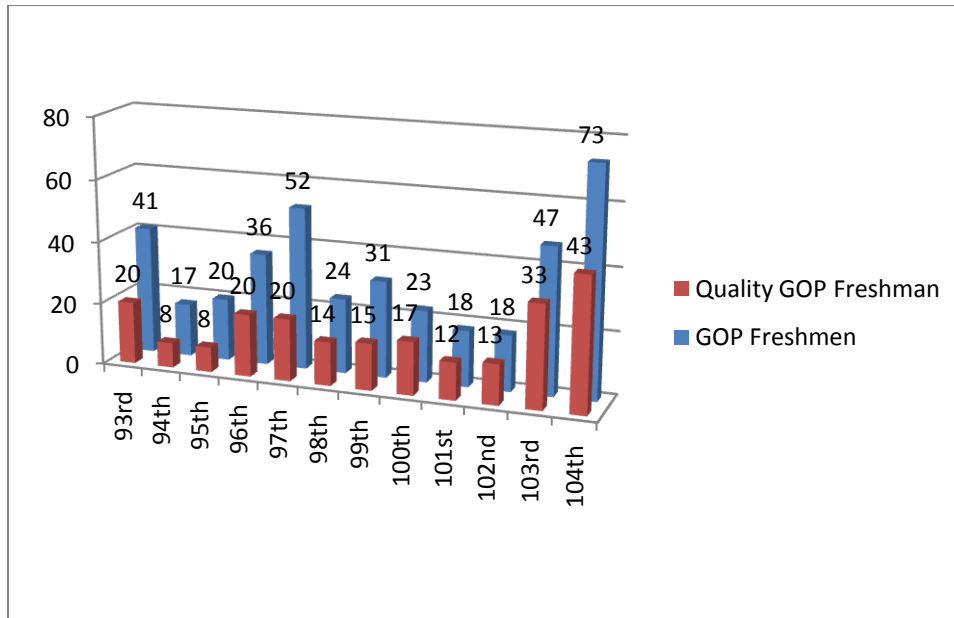
72%

103rd

70.20%

104th

58.90%



Appendix D: Republican Legislators in Virginia from 1971 to 1994

Virginia State Politics

Year 1974

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Aldhizer, George	D	y	y
Anderson, Howard	D	y	y
Andrews, Hunter	D	y	y
Babalas, Peter	D	n	y
Barnes, George	R	n	y
Bateman, Herbert	D	y	y
Bendheim, Leroy	D	y	y
Brault, Adelard	D	y	y
Buchanan, John	D	n	n
Burruss, Robert	R	n	y
Cambell, Leslie	D	n	y
Canada, Joe	R	n	n
Dawbarn, Dunlop	R	n	y
DuVal, Clive	D	y	y
Edmus, James	D	y	n
Fears, William	D	y	y
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n	y
Goode, Virgil	D	n	n
Gray, Elmon	D	y	y
Gray, Federick	D	y	y
Hirst, Omer	D	y	y
Holland, Edward	D	n	n
Hopkins, William	D	n	y
Manns, Paul	D	y	n
Marye, Madison	D	n	y
McNamara, Thomas	D	y	y
Michael, Harry	D	y	y
Moody, Willard	D	y	y
Parkerson, William	D	y	y
Rawlings, William	D	y	y
Smith, Selwyn	D	n	y
Thornton, David	R	n	y
Townsend, Russell	D	y	n

Truban, William	R	y	y
Waddell, Charles	D	y	n
Walker, Stanley	D	y	y
Warren, George	D	y	y
Wilder, Lawrence	D	n	y
Willey, Edward	D	y	n
Yeatts, Colman	D	y	y

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Allen, George	D	n	n
Anderson, Claude	D	n	y
Ashworth, Ray	D	y	y
Axselle, Ralph	D	n	n
Bagley, Richard	D	y	y
Ball, Robert	D	n	y
Barry, Warren	R	n	y
Bryan, Stanley	D	n	y
Callahan, Vincent	R	y	y
Cambell, Archibald	D	n	y
Cantrell, Orby	D	y	n
Carwile, Howard	I	n	n
Colman, Marshall	R	y	y
Cooke, John	D	n	n
Council, Paul	D	n	y
Cranwell, Richard	D	n	n
Creekmore, Frederick	D	n	n
DeBruhl, Garry	D	y	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n	y
Dickinson, Earl	D	y	y
Dillar, James	R	n	y
Dunford, Don	D	n	y
Durette, Wyatt	R	n	y
Elliot, Richard	D	n	y
Emroch, Walter	D	n	n
Fickett, Lewis	D	y	y
Fowler, Calvin	I	n	y
Garland, Ray	R	n	n
Geisler, Jerry	R	y	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n	n
Glasscock, Samuel	D	n	y

Gray, John	D	y	y
Grayson, George	D	y	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y	y
Gunn, Charles	I	n	y
Gwathmey, Robert	D	y	y
Hailey, Evelyn	D	y	n
Harris, Robert	R	n	n
Heilig, George	D	n	n
Johnson, Jospeh	D	y	n
Jones, George	R	n	y
Jones, Joan	D	y	n
Lane, Edward	D	y	y
Leafe, Edward	D	n	y
Lechner, Ira	D	n	y
Lemmon, W	D	n	y
McClanan, Glenn	D	y	n
McDiarmid, Dorothy	D	y	n
McGlothlin, Donald	D	y	y
McMath, George	R	n	y
McMurran, Lewis	D	n	y
Mcmurtrie, Alexander	D	n	n
Mann, Frank	D	y	y
Manning, Cleaves	D	n	y
Marks, Hardaway	D	y	y
Marshall, Mary	D	n	n
Melnick, John	D	y	n
Michie, Thomas	D	y	y
Miller, Clinton	R	y	n
Miller, Nathan	R	n	n
Morris, Philip	D	n	y
Morrison, Theodore	D	n	y
Moss, Thomas	D	y	y
Murphy, William	I	n	y
Murray, James	D	n	y
O'Brien, JW	D	n	y
Owens, Stanley	I	y	n
Parker, Lewis	D	n	n
Pendelton, Donald	D	n	n
Philpott, AL	D	y	y
Pickett, Owen	D	y	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n	y
Quillen, Ford	D	n	y
Quinn, Robert	D	n	y

Ragsdale, Edwin	R	y	y
Reynolds, Randall	D	n	n
Rhodes, Donald	D	y	n
Robinson, William	D	n	n
Robrecht, Raymond	R	y	y
Rollins, Kenneth	I	y	y
Rothrock, Thomas	D	y	y
Sanford, Calvin	R	n	y
Schlitz, Lester	D	n	y
Scott, LO	I	n	n
Sheppard, Eleanor	D	y	n
Sisisky, Norman	I	y	y
Sluaghter, French	I	y	y
Slayton, Frank	D	y	
Smith, Alson	D	y	n
Stafford, Jefferson	R	n	y
Stambaugh, Warren	D	n	n
Tate, James	R	n	y
Tell, Ward	R	y	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n	y
Thomas, James	D	y	y
Vickery, Ramond	D	n	n
Washington, Robert	D	n	n
White, Warren	D	n	y
Willaims, Carrington	D	n	y
Wilson, William	D	n	n

number of republicans 26

Source: General Assembly of Virginia. Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates. Session 1974. Commonwealth of Virginia. Department of Purchases and Supply. Richmond. 1974.

Year 1976

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Anderson, Howard	D	y	y
Andrews, Hunter	D	y	y
Babalas, Peter	D	n	y
Bateman, Herbert	D	y	y

Bird, Daniel	D	n	y
Boucher, Frederick	D	n	n
Brault, Adelard	D	y	y
Buchanan, John	D	n	n
Canada, Joe	R	n	n
Coleman, Marshall	R	y	y
Colgan, Charles	D	y	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n	y
DuVal, Clive	D	y	y
Edmus, James	D	y	n
Emick, Dudley	D	y	y
Fears, William	D	y	y
Fitzpatrick, Joseph	D	n	n
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n	y
Goode, Virgil	D	n	n
Gray, Elmon	D	y	y
Gray, Frederick	D	y	y
Hirst, Omer	D	y	y
Holland, Edward	D	n	n
Hopkins, William	D	n	y
Manns, Paul	D	y	n
Marye, Madison	D	n	y
Michael, Harry	D	y	y
Miller, Nathan	R	y	n
Mitchell, Wiley	R	y	y
Moody, Willard	D	y	y
Parkerson, William	D	y	y
Rawls, Lewis	D	y	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y	y
Townsend, Russell	D	y	n
Truban, William	R	y	y
Waddell, Charles	D	y	n
Walker, Stanley	D	y	y
Wilder, Lawrence	D	n	y
Willey, Edward	D	y	n
Yeatts, Colman	D	y	y

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Allen, George	D	n	n
Anderson, Claude	D	n	y

Ashworth, Ray	D	y	y
Axselle, Ralph	D	n	n
Bagley, Floyd	D	y	y
Bagley, Richard	D	y	y
Baliles, Gerald	D	y	n
Ball, Robert	D	n	y
Barry, Warren	R	n	y
Bell, Earl	D	n	y
Brickley, David	D	n	y
Callahan, Vincent	R	y	y
Cambell, Archibald	D	n	y
Cantrell, Orby	D	y	n
Council, Paul	D	n	y
Cranwell, Richard	D	n	n
Creekmore, Frederick	D	n	n
DeBruhl, Garry	D	y	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n	y
Dickinson, Earl	D	y	y
Dillar, James	R	n	y
Dunford, Don	D	n	y
Durette, Wyatt	R	n	y
Elliot, Richard	D	n	y
Fickett, Lewis	D	y	y
Fowler, Calvin	I	n	y
Garland, Ray	R	n	n
Geisler, Jerry	R	y	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n	n
Glasscock, Samuel	D	n	y
Gray, John	D	y	y
Grayson, George	D	y	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y	y
Gunn, Charles	I	n	y
Gwathmey, Robert	D	y	y
Hailey, Evelyn	D	y	n
Hall, Franklin	D	n	n
Harris, Robert	R	y	n
Heilig, George	D	n	n
Hobson, Richard	D	n	y
James, Robinson	D	n	n
Johnson, Johnny	D	n	n
Johnson, Jospeh	D	y	n
Jones, George	R	n	y
Jones, Joan	D	y	n

Lane, Edward	D	y	y
Leafe, Edward	D	n	y
Leafe, Joseph	D	n	y
Lechner, Ira	D	n	y
Lemmon, W	D	n	y
McClanan, Glenn	D	y	n
McDiarmid, Dorothy	D	y	n
McGlothlin, Donald	D	y	y
McMath, George	R	n	y
McMurren, Lewis	D	n	y
McMurtree, Alexander	D	n	n
Manning, Cleaves	D	n	y
Marks, Hardaway	D	y	y
Marshall, Mary	D	n	n
Melnick, John	D	y	n
Michie, Thomas	D	y	y
Miller, Clinton	R	y	n
Morrison, Theodore	D	n	y
Moss, Thomas	D	y	y
Murray, James	D	n	y
O'Brien, JW	D	n	y
Parker, Lewis	D	n	n
Parker, William	D	n	n
Paul, Bonnie	R	n	n
Pendelton, Donald	D	n	n
Philpott, AL	D	y	y
Pickett, Owen	D	y	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n	y
Quillen, Ford	D	n	y
Quinn, Robert	D	n	y
Reynolds, Randall	D	n	n
Robinson, William	D	n	n
Robrecht, Raymond	R	y	y
Rothrock, Thomas	D	y	y
Sanford, Calvin	R	n	y
Saslaw, Richard	D	n	y
Scott, LO	I	n	n
Sheppard, eleanor	D	y	n
Sisisky, Norman	I	y	y
Slaughter, French	I	y	y
Slayton, Frank	D	y	
Smith, Alson	D	y	n
Solomon, Erwin	D	y	y

Stafford, Jefferson	R	n	y
Stambaugh, Warren	D	n	n
Swanson, Claude	D	n	y
Teel, Ward	R	y	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n	y
Thomas, James	D	y	y
Vickery, Ramond	D	n	n
Washington, Robert	D	n	n
White, Warren	D	n	y
Willaims, Carrington	D	n	y
Wilson, William	D	n	n

number of republicans 22

Source: General Assembly of Virginia. Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates. Session 1976. Commonwealth of Virginia. Department of Purchases and Supply. Richmond. 1976.

Year 1978

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Anderson, Howard	D	y	y
Andrews, Hunter	D	y	y
Babalas, Peter	D	n	y
Bateman, Herbert	D	y	y
Bird, Daniel	D	n	y
Boucher, Frederick	D	n	n
Brault, Adelard	D	y	y
Buchanan, John	D	n	n
Canada, Joe	R	n	n
Chichester, John	R	n	y
Colgan, Charles	D	y	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n	y
DuVal, Clive	D	y	y
Edmunds, James	D	y	n
Emick, Dudley	D	y	y
Fears, William	D	y	y
Fitzpatrick, Joseph	D	n	n
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n	y
Goode, Virgil	D	n	n
Gray, Elmon	D	y	y

Gray, Frederick	D	y	y
Hirst, Omer	D	y	y
Holland, Edward	D	n	n
Hopkins, William	D	n	y
Marye, Madison	D	n	y
Michael, Harry	D	y	y
Miller, Nathan	R	y	n
Mitchell, Wiley	R	y	y
Moody, Willard	D	y	y
Nolan, Frank	D	y	n
Parkerson, William	D	y	y
Rawls, Lewis	D	y	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y	y
Townsend, Russell	D	y	n
Truban, William	R	y	y
Waddell, Charles	D	y	n
Walker, Stanley	D	y	y
Wilder, Lawrence	D	n	y
Willey, Edward	D	y	n
Yeatts, Colman	D	y	y

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Allen, George	D	n	n
Almand, James	D	n	n
Anderson, Claude	D	n	y
Ashworth, Ray	D	y	y
Axselle, Ralph	D	n	n
Bagley, Floyd	D	y	y
Bagley, Richard	D	y	y
Baliles, Gerald	D	y	n
Ball, Robert	D	n	y
Barry, Warren	R	n	y
Beard, George	R	n	n
Bell, Earl	D	n	y
Bloxom, Robert	R	n	n
Brickley, David	D	n	y
Callahan, Vincent	R	y	y
Cambell, Archibald	D	n	y
Cantrell, Orby	D	y	n
Council, Paul	D	n	y

Cranwell, Richard	D	n	n
Creekmore, Frederick	D	n	n
Cooke, John	D	n	n
Crouch, Jospeh	R	n	n
Davis, James	D	y	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n	y
Dickinson, Earl	D	y	y
Dunford, Don	D	n	y
Emroch, Walter	D	y	n
Fickett, Lewis	D	y	y
Fowler, Calvin	I	n	y
Garland, Ray	R	n	n
Geisler, Jerry	R	y	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n	n
Glasscock, Samuel	D	n	y
Gray, John	D	y	y
Grayson, George	D	y	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y	y
Hailey, Evelyn	D	y	n
Hall, Franklin	D	n	n
Harris, Robert	R	y	n
Heilig, George	D	n	n
Heinz, Elise	D	n	n
Hobson, Richard	D	n	y
Jones, George	R	n	y
Jones, Joan	D	y	n
Keating, Gladys	D	y	n
Leafe, Joseph	D	n	y
Lambert, Bejamin	D	n	n
Lemmon, W	D	n	y
McClanan, Glenn	D	y	n
McDiarmid, Dorothy	D	y	n
McGlothlin, Donald	D	y	y
Mcmurtrie, Alexander	D	n	n
Manning, Cleaves	D	n	y
Marks, Hardaway	D	y	y
Marshall, Mary	D	n	n
Michie, Thomas	D	y	y
Miller, Clinton	R	y	n
Morrison, Theodore	D	n	y
Moss, Thomas	D	y	y
Murray, James	D	n	y
Myers, Gary	R	n	n

O'Brien, JW	D	n	y
Obryan, Wayne	D	n	n
Parker, Lewis	D	n	n
Parker, William	D	n	n
Paul, Bonnie	R	n	n
Pendelton, Donald	D	n	n
Perper, Martin	R	n	n
Philpott, AL	D	y	y
Pickett, Owen	D	y	n
Plum, Kenneth	D	y	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n	y
Quillen, Ford	D	n	y
Robinson, William	D	n	n
Robrecht, Raymond	R	y	y
Sanford, Calvin	R	n	y
Saslaw, Richard	D	n	y
Scott, LO	I	n	n
Scott, Robert	D	n	n
Sisisky, Norman	I	y	y
Slayton, Frank	D	y	
Smith, Alson	D	y	n
Solomon, Erwin	D	y	y
Stafford, Jefferson	R	n	y
Stambaugh, Warren	D	n	n
Stieffen, Wallace	D	y	n
Swanson, Claude	D	n	y
Teel, Ward	R	y	n
Terry, Mary	D	n	n
Thoburn, Robert	R	n	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n	y
Vickery, Ramond	D	n	n
Washington, Robert	D	n	n
White, Warren	D	n	y
Wilson, William	D	n	n
Wilkins, Vance	R	n	n

number of republicans 26

Source: The Almanac of Virginia Politics. Second Edition. 1979. Flora Crater, Elizabeth Vantrease, Meg Williams. Published by the Woman Activist Fund, Inc.

Year 1980

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience
Anderson, Howard	D	y
Andrews, Hunter	D	y
Babalas, Peter	D	n
Barker, Onico	R	n
Bateman, Herbert	D	y
Bird, Daniel	D	n
Boucher, Frederick	D	n
Brault, Adelard	D	y
Buchanan, John	D	n
Canada, Joe	R	n
Chichester, John	R	n
Colgan, Charles	D	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n
DuVal, Clive	D	y
Emick, Dudley	D	y
Fears, William	D	y
Fitzpatrick, Joseph	D	n
Garland, Ray	R	y
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n
Goode, Virgil	D	n
Gray, Elmon	D	y
Gray, Federick	D	y
Holland, Edward	D	n
Holland, Richard	D	y
Hopkins, William	D	n
Marye, Madison	D	n
Michael, Harry	D	y
Miller, Nathan	R	y
Mitchell, Wiley	R	y
Moody, Willard	D	y
Nolan, Frank	D	y
Parker, William	D	y
Parkerson, William	D	y
Salsaw, Richard	D	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y
Truban, William	R	y
Waddell, Charles	D	y
Walker, Stanley	D	y
Wilder, Lawrence	D	n

Willey, Edward	D	y
House Of Delegates		
Name of politician	party	previous political experience
Allen, George	D	n
Almand, James	D	n
Anderson, Claude	D	n
Ashworth, Ray	D	y
Axselle, Ralph	D	n
Bagley, Floyd	D	y
Bagley, Richard	D	y
Baliles, Gerald	D	y
Ball, Robert	D	n
Barry, Warren	R	n
Beard, George	R	n
Bell, Earl	D	n
Bloxom, Robert	R	n
Brickley, David	D	n
Callahan, Vincent	R	y
Cambell, Archibald	D	n
Cantrell, Orby	D	y
Christian, James	D	y
Cohen, Bernard	D	n
Copeland, Howard	D	n
Council, Paul	D	n
Cranwell, Richard	D	n
Creekmore, Frederick	D	n
Crouch, Jospeh	R	n
Davis, James	D	y
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n
Dickinson, Earl	D	y
Dillard, James	R	n
Emroch, Walter	D	y
Fickett, Lewis	D	y
Forehand, Thomas	D	n
Fowler, Calvin	I	n
Geisler, Jerry	R	y
Giesen, Arthur	R	n
Glasscock, Samuel	D	n
Gray, John	D	y
Grayson, George	D	y
Green, William	D	y

Guest, Raymond	R	y
Hailey, Evelyn	D	y
Hall, Franklin	D	n
Harris, Robert	R	y
Harrison, Edythe	D	n
Heilig, George	D	n
Heinz, Elise	D	n
James, Robinson	D	n
Joannou, Johnny	D	n
Johnson, Joseph	D	y
Jones, George	R	n
Jones, Joan	D	y
Keating, Gladys	D	y
Lambert, Benjamin	D	n
Lemmon, W	D	n
McClanan, Glenn	D	y
McDiarmid, Dorothy	D	y
McGlothlin, Donald	D	y
McMurtrie, Alexander	D	n
Manning, Cleaves	D	n
Marks, Hardaway	D	y
Marshall, Mary	D	n
Michie, Thomas	D	y
Miller, Clinton	R	y
Miller, Kevin	R	n
Morgan, Harvey	R	n
Morrison, Theodore	D	n
Moss, Thomas	D	y
Murray, James	D	n
O'Brien, JW	D	n
Obryan, Wayne	D	n
Parker, Lewis	D	n
Paul, Bonnie	R	n
Perper, Martin	R	n
Pickett, Owen	D	y
Pratt, Lawrance	R	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n
Quillen, Ford	D	n
Robinson, William	D	n
Robrecht, Raymond	R	y
Rust, John	R	n
Sanford, Calvin	R	n
Scott, LO	I	n

Scott, Robert	D	n
Sisisky, Norman	I	y
Slayton, Frank	D	y
Smith, Alson	D	y
Solomon, Erwin	D	y
Speck, David	R	n
Stafford, Jefferson	R	n
Stambaugh, Warren	D	n
Stieffen, Wallace	D	y
Swanson, Claude	D	n
Teel, Ward	R	y
Terry, Mary	D	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n
Washington, Robert	D	n
Wilson, William	D	n
Wilkins, Vance	R	n
Woodrum, Clifton	D	n

number of republicans

30

Source: General Assembly of Virginia. Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates. Session 1980. Commonwealth of Virginia. Department of Purchases and Supply. Richmond. 1980.

Year 1982

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Anderson, Howard	D	y	y
Andrews, Hunter	D	y	y
Babalas, Peter	D	n	y
Barker, Onico	R	n	y
Bateman, Herbert	D	y	y
Bird, Daniel	D	n	y
Boucher, Frederick	D	n	n
Brault, Adelard	D	y	y
Buchanan, John	D	n	n
Canada, Joe	R	n	n
Chichester, John	R	n	y
Colgan, Charles	D	y	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n	y

DuVal, Clive	D	y	y
Emick, Dudley	D	y	y
Fears, William	D	y	y
Garland, Ray	R	y	n
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n	y
Goode, Virgil	D	n	n
Gray, Elmon	D	y	y
Gray, Federick	D	y	y
Holland, Edward	D	n	n
Holland, Richard	D	y	y
Jones, James	D	n	n
Marye, Madison	D	n	y
Miller, Nathan	R	y	n
Mitchell, Wiley	R	y	y
Moody, Willard	D	y	y
Nolan, Frank	D	y	n
Parker, William	D	y	y
Parkerson, William	D	y	y
Salsaw, Richard	D	y	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y	y
Truban, William	R	y	y
Waddell, Charles	D	y	n
Walker, Stanley	D	y	y
Wilder, Lawrence	D	n	y
Willey, Edward	D	y	n

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	perivious political experience	Previous military expierence
Allen, George	D	n	n
Almand, James	D	n	n
Anderson, Claude	D	n	y
Ackerman, Robert	D	n	n
Agee, Steven	R	n	n
Andrews, Robert	R	n	n
Axselle, Ralph	D	n	n
Bagley, Floyd	D	y	y
Bagley, Richard	D	y	y
Baliles, Gerald	D	y	n
Ball, Robert	D	n	y
Barry, Warren	R	n	y
Beard, George	R	n	n

Brickley, David	D	n	y
Benedetti, Joseph	R	y	n
Brown, John C	R	y	n
Callahan, Vincent	R	y	y
Cohen, Bernard	D	n	n
Copeland, Howard	D	n	y
Council, Paul	D	n	y
Calvert, Kenneth	R	n	n
Cooper, Shirley	D	y	n
Cranwell, Richard	D	n	n
Creekmore, Frederick	D	n	n
Crouch, Josphe	R	n	n
Davis, James	D	y	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n	y
Dickinson, Earl	D	y	y
Dillard, James	R	n	y
DeBoer, Jay	D	n	n
Dicks, John	D	n	n
Dobyns, James	D	y	n
Ealey, Roland	D	n	n
Finney, Willard	D	n	n
Forehand, Thomas	D	n	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n	n
Glasscock, Samuel	D	n	y
Gordy, Stephen	R	n	y
Green, William	D	y	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y	y
Hailey, Evelyn	D	y	n
Hall, Franklin	D	n	n
Hanger, Emmet	R	n	y
Hargrove, Frank	R	y	y
Harris, Robert	R	y	n
Heilig, George	D	n	n
Jennings, GC	D	y	n
Jester, Royston	R	y	n
Joannou, Johnny	D	n	n
Jones, Beasley	D	n	n
Jones, George	R	n	y
Keating, Gladys	D	y	n
Lacy, Charles	D	n	n
Lambert, Bejamin	D	n	n
Maxwell, Henry	D	n	n
McDiarmid, Dorothy	D	y	n

McGlothlin, Donald	D	y	y
Manning, Cleaves	D	n	y
Marks, Hardaway	D	y	y
Marshall, Mary	D	n	n
Medico, Frank	R	n	y
Miller, Clinton	R	y	n
Miller, Kevin	R	n	n
Morgan, Harvey	R	n	y
Morrison, Theodore	D	n	y
Moss, Thomas	D	y	y
Mocure, Thomas	R	n	y
Munford, Joan	D	n	n
Murphy, Tayloe	D	y	n
O'Brien, JW	D	n	y
O'Brien, William	R	n	n
Orebaugh, Phoebe	R	n	n
Parker, Lewis	D	n	n
Parker, Lewis	D	n	n
Parrish, Harry	R	n	n
Pickett, Owen	D	y	n
Plum, Kenneth	D	y	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n	y
Quillen, Ford	D	n	y
Ragsdale, Edwin	R	n	n
Robinson, William	D	n	n
Rollins, Kenneth	R	y	y
Scott, Eva	R	y	n
Scott, Robert	D	n	n
Sisisky, Norman	I	y	y
Slayton, Frank	D	y	n
Smith, Alson	D	y	n
Speck, David	R	n	n
Squyres, Nora	D	n	n
Stafford, Jefferson	R	n	y
Stambaugh, Warren	D	n	n
Stieffen, Wallace	D	y	n
Stosch, Walter	R	n	y
Terry, Mary	D	n	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n	y
Van LANDINGHAM, Marian	D	n	n
Van Yahres, Mitchell	D	y	y
Washington, Robert	D	n	n

Watkins, John	R	n	n
Watts, Vivian	D	n	n
Wilson, William	D	n	n
Wilkins, Vance	R	n	n
Woodrum, Clifton	D	n	n

number of republicans 41

Source: The Almanac of Virginia Politics. Fourth Edition. 1983. Flora Crater, Meg Williams, Muriel Smith. Published by the Woman Activist Fund, Inc. Falls Church, Virginia.

Year 1984

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Anderson, Howard	D	y	y
Andrews, Hunter	D	y	y
Babalas, Peter	D	n	y
Barker, Onico	R	n	y
Bateman, Herbert	D	y	y
Bird, Daniel	D	n	y
Boucher, Frederick	D	n	n
Buchanan, John	D	n	n
Canada, Joe	R	n	n
Chichester, John	R	n	y
Colgan, Charles	D	y	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n	y
DuVal, Clive	D	y	y
Emick, Dudley	D	y	y
Fears, William	D	y	y
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n	y
Goode, Virgil	D	n	n
Gray, Elmon	D	y	y
Holland, Edward	D	n	n
Holland, Richard	D	y	y
Jones, James	D	n	n
Macfarlane, Granger	D	n	n
Marye, Madison	D	n	y
Mitchell, Wiley	R	y	y
Michie, Thomas	D	y	n

Moody, Willard	D	y	y
Nolan, Frank	D	y	n
Parker, William	D	y	y
Parkerson, William	D	y	y
Russell, John	R	y	n
Russell, Robert	R	n	n
Salsaw, Richard	D	y	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y	y
Truban, William	R	y	y
Waddell, Charles	D	y	n
Walker, Stanley	D	y	y
Wilder, Lawrence	D	n	y
Willey, Edward	D	y	n

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Allen, George	D	n	n
Almand, James	D	n	n
Anderson, Claude	D	n	y
Ackerman, Robert	D	n	n
Agee, Steven	R	n	n
Andrews, Robert	R	n	n
Axselle, Ralph	D	n	n
Bagley, Floyd	D	y	y
Bagley, Richard	D	y	y
Baliles, Gerald	D	y	n
Ball, Robert	D	n	y
Beard, George	R	n	n
Brickley, David	D	n	y
Benedetti, Joseph	R	y	n
Bloxom, Robert	R	n	n
Brown, John C	R	y	n
Callahan, Vincent	R	y	y
Cohen, Bernard	D	n	n
Copeland, Howard	D	n	y
Council, Paul	D	n	y
Calvert, Kenneth	R	n	n
Cooper, Shirley	D	y	n
Cranwell, Richard	D	n	n
Creekmore, Frederick	D	n	n
Crouch, Josphe	R	n	n

Cunningham, Robert	R	n	y
Davis, James	D	y	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n	y
Dickinson, Earl	D	y	y
Dillard, James	R	n	y
DeBoer, Jay	D	n	n
Dicks, John	D	n	n
Dobyns, James	D	y	n
Ealey, Roland	D	n	n
Finney, Willard	D	n	n
Forehand, Thomas	D	n	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n	n
Glasscock, Samuel	D	n	y
Gordy, Stephen	R	n	y
Grayson, George	D	n	n
Green, William	D	y	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y	y
Hall, Franklin	D	n	n
Hanger, Emmet	R	n	y
Hargrove, Frank	R	y	y
Harris, Robert	R	y	n
Hawkins, Charles	R	n	y
Heilig, George	D	n	n
Jennings, GC	D	y	n
Jester, Royston	R	y	n
Joannou, Johnny	D	n	n
Jones, Beasley	D	n	n
Keating, Gladys	D	y	n
Lacy, Charles	D	n	n
Lambert, Benjamin	D	n	n
Manning, Cleaves	D	n	y
Marks, Hardaway	D	y	y
Marshall, Mary	D	n	n
Maxwell, Henry	D	n	n
McClanan, Glenn	D	n	n
McDiarmid, Dorothy	D	y	n
McGlothlin, Donald	D	y	y
Medico, Frank	R	n	y
Miller, Clinton	R	y	n
Miller, Kevin	R	n	n
Miller, Yvonne	D	n	n
Moore, William	D	n	n
Morgan, Harvey	R	n	y

Morrison, Theodore	D	n	y
Moss, Thomas	D	y	y
Mocure, Thomas	R	n	y
Munford, Joan	D	n	n
Murphy, Tayloe	D	y	n
O'Brien, JW	D	n	y
O'Brien, William	R	n	n
Orebaugh, Phoebe	R	n	n
Parker, Lewis	D	n	n
Parrish, Harry	R	n	n
Pickett, Owen	D	y	n
Plum, Kenneth	D	y	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n	y
Quillen, Ford	D	n	y
Rollins, Kenneth	R	y	y
Robinson, James	D	n	n
Robinson, William	D	n	n
Saunders, Leslie	D	n	n
Scott, Robert	D	n	n
Sisisky, Norman	I	y	y
Slayton, Frank	D	y	n
Smith, Alson	D	y	n
Stafford, Jefferson	R	n	y
Stambaugh, Warren	D	n	n
Stieffen, Wallace	D	y	n
Stosch, Walter	R	n	y
Tata, Robert	R	n	n
Terry, Mary	D	n	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n	y
Van Landingham, Marian	D	n	n
Van Yahres, Mitchell	D	y	y
Watkins, John	R	n	n
Watts, Vivian	D	n	n
Wilson, William	D	n	n
Wilkins, Vance	R	n	n
Woodrum, Clifton	D	n	n

number of republicans 40

Source: The Almanac of Virginia Politics. Fifth Edition. 1985. Flora Crater, Meg Williams, Muriel Smith. Published by the Woman Activist Fund, Inc. Falls Church, Virginia.

Year 1986

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Anderson, Howard	D	y	y
Andrews, Hunter	D	y	y
Babalas, Peter	D	n	y
Barker, Onico	R	n	y
Bird, Daniel	D	n	y
Buchanan, John	D	n	n
Canada, Joe	R	n	n
Chichester, John	R	n	y
Colgan, Charles	D	y	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n	y
DuVal, Clive	D	y	y
Emick, Dudley	D	y	y
Fears, William	D	y	y
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n	y
Goode, Virgil	D	n	n
Gray, Elmon	D	y	y
Holland, Clarence	D	y	y
Holland, Edward	D	n	n
Holland, Richard	D	y	y
Jones, James	D	n	n
Macfarlane, Granger	D	n	n
Marye, Madison	D	n	y
Mitchell, Wiley	R	y	y
Michie, Thomas	D	y	n
Nolan, Frank	D	y	n
Parker, William	D	y	y
Parkerson, William	D	y	y
Russell, John	R	y	n
Russell, Robert	R	n	n
Salsaw, Richard	D	y	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y	y
Truban, William	R	y	y
Waddell, Charles	D	y	n
Walker, Stanley	D	y	y
Willey, Edward	D	y	n

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	pervious political experience	Previous military experience
Abbitt, Watkins	D	n	n
Allen, George	D	n	n
Almand, James	D	n	n
Ackerman, Robert	D	n	n
Agee, Steven	R	n	n
Andrews, Robert	R	n	n
Axselle, Ralph	D	n	n
Ball, Robert	D	n	y
Beard, George	R	n	n
Brickley, David	D	n	y
Benedetti, Joseph	R	y	n
Bloxom, Robert	R	n	n
Brown, John C	R	y	n
Byrne, Leslie	D	n	n
Callahan, Vincent	R	y	y
Calvert, Kenneth	R	n	n
Christian, Mary	I	n	n
Cohen, Bernard	D	n	n
Copeland, Howard	D	n	y
Council, Paul	D	n	y
Calvert, Kenneth	R	n	n
Cooper, Shirley	D	y	n
Cranwell, Richard	D	n	n
Creekmore, Frederick	D	n	n
Crouch, Josphe	R	n	n
Cunningham, Robert	R	n	y
Cunningham, Jean	D	n	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n	y
Dickinson, Earl	D	y	y
Dillard, James	R	n	y
DeBoer, Jay	D	n	n
Dicks, John	D	n	n
Dobyns, James	D	y	n
Ealey, Roland	D	n	n
Finney, Willard	D	n	n
Forehand, Thomas	D	n	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n	n
Glasscock, Samuel	D	n	y
Gordy, Stephen	R	n	y

Grayson, George	D	n	n
Green, William	D	y	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y	y
Hall, Franklin	D	n	n
Hanger, Emmet	R	n	y
Hargrove, Frank	R	y	y
Harris, Robert	R	y	n
Hawkins, Charles	R	n	y
Heilig, George	D	n	n
Jennings, GC	D	y	n
Jester, Royston	R	y	n
Jones, Beasley	D	n	n
Keating, Gladys	D	y	n
Lacy, Charles	D	n	n
Marks, Hardaway	D	y	y
Marshall, Mary	D	n	n
Maxwell, Henry	D	n	n
Mayer, Alan	D	n	n
McClanan, Glenn	D	n	n
McDiarmid, Dorothy	D	y	n
McGlothlin, Donald	D	y	y
Medico, Frank	R	n	y
Melvin, Kenneth	D	n	n
Miller, Clinton	R	y	n
Miller, Yvonne	D	n	n
Moore, William	D	n	n
Morgan, Harvey	R	n	y
Morrison, Theodore	D	n	y
Moss, Thomas	D	y	y
Mocure, Thomas	R	n	y
Munford, Joan	D	n	n
Murphy, Tayloe	D	y	n
O'Brien, JW	D	n	y
Parker, Lewis	D	n	n
Parrish, Harry	R	n	n
Philpott, AL	D	y	n
Pickett, Owen	D	y	n
Plum, Kenneth	D	y	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n	y
Quillen, Ford	D	n	y
Rollins, Kenneth	R	y	y
Robinson, James	D	n	n
Robinson, William	D	n	n

Rollison, JA	R	n	n
Saunders, Leslie	D	n	n
Slayton, Frank	D	y	n
Smith, Alson	D	y	n
Stafford, Jefferson	R	n	y
Stambaugh, Warren	D	n	n
Stieffen, Wallace	D	y	n
Stosch, Walter	R	n	y
Tata, Robert	R	n	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n	y
Van Landingham, Marian	D	n	n
Van Yahres, Mitchell	D	y	y
Watkins, John	R	n	n
Wilson, William	D	n	n
Wilkins, Vance	R	n	n
Woodrum, Clifton	D	n	n

number of republicans 39

Source: General Assembly of Virginia. Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates. Session 1986. Commonwealth of Virginia. Department of Purchases and Supply. Richmond. 1986.

Year 1988

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Anderson, Howard	D	y	y
Andrews, Hunter	D	y	y
Barker, Onico	R	n	y
Bird, Daniel	D	n	y
Buchanan, John	D	n	n
Canada, Joe	R	n	n
Chichester, John	R	n	y
Colgan, Charles	D	y	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n	y
Dalton, edwin	R	y	n
DuVal, Clive	D	y	y
Earley, Mark	R	n	n
Emick, Dudley	D	y	y

Fears, William	D	y	y
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n	y
Goode, Virgil	D	n	n
Gray, Elmon	D	y	y
Holland, Clarence	D	y	y
Holland, Edward	D	n	n
Holland, Richard	D	y	y
Houck, Edward	D	n	n
Joannou, Johnny	D	y	n
Macfarlane, Granger	D	n	n
Marye, Madison	D	n	y
Mitchell, Wiley	R	y	y
Michie, Thomas	D	y	n
Miller, Emilie	D	y	n
Miller, Kevin	R	y	n
Miller, Yvonne	D	n	n
Nolan, Frank	D	y	n
Russell, Robert	R	n	n
Salsaw, Richard	D	y	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y	y
Stallings, Moody	D	n	y
Truban, William	R	y	y
Waddell, Charles	D	y	n
Walker, Stanley	D	y	y
Wampler, William			

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Abbitt, Watkins	D	n	n
Allen, George	D	n	n
Almand, James	D	n	n
Ackerman, Robert	D	n	n
Agee, Steven	R	n	n
Andrews, Robert	R	n	n
Axselle, Ralph	D	n	n
Ball, Robert	D	n	y
Brickley, David	D	n	y
Bloxom, Robert	R	n	n
Brown, John C	R	y	n
Byrne, Leslie	D	n	n
Callahan, Vincent	R	y	y

Christian, Mary	I	n	n
clement, whittington	D	n	n
Cohen, Bernard	D	n	n
Copeland, Howard	D	n	y
Council, Paul	D	n	y
Calvert, Kenneth	R	n	n
Cooper, Shirley	D	y	n
Cranwell, Richard	D	n	n
Creekmore, Frederick	D	n	n
crenshaw, hatcher	R	n	n
Crouch, Josphe	R	n	n
croshaw, glenn	D	n	n
Cunningham, Robert	R	n	y
Cunningham, Jean	D	n	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n	y
Dickinson, Earl	D	y	y
Dillard, James	R	n	y
DeBoer, Jay	D	n	n
Dicks, John	D	n	n
Dobyns, James	D	y	n
Ealey, Roland	D	n	n
Finney, Willard	D	n	n
Forehand, Thomas	D	n	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n	n
Glasscock, Samuel	D	n	y
Grayson, George	D	n	n
Green, William	D	y	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y	y
Hagood, Mark	R	n	n
Hall, Franklin	D	n	n
Hanger, Emmet	R	n	y
Hargrove, Frank	R	y	y
Harris, Robert	R	y	n
Harris, edward	D	y	n
Hawkins, Charles	R	n	y
Heilig, George	D	n	n
Higginbotham, Page	R	n	n
Hogge, Everett	R	n	n
Howell, William	R	n	n
Jackson, Thomas	D	y	n
Jennings, GC	D	y	n
Jones, Jerrauld	D	n	n
Jones, Beasley	D	n	n

Keating, Gladys	D	y	n
Kennedy, Jack	D	n	n
Marks, Hardaway	D	y	y
Marshall, Mary	D	n	n
Martin, Stephen	R	n	n
Maxwell, Henry	D	n	n
Mayer, Alan	D	n	n
McClanan, Glenn	D	n	n
McDiarmid, Dorothy	D	y	n
McGlothlin, Donald	D	y	y
Medico, Frank	R	n	y
Melvin, Kenneth	D	n	n
Miller, Clinton	R	y	n
Moore, William	D	n	n
Morgan, Harvey	R	n	y
Moss, Thomas	D	y	y
Munford, Joan	D	n	n
Murphy, Tayloe	D	y	n
O'Brien, JW	D	n	y
Orebaugh, Phoebe	R	n	n
Parker, Lewis	D	n	n
Parrish, Harry	R	n	n
Philpott, AL	D	y	n
Plum, Kenneth	D	y	n
Putkey, Harry	R	n	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n	y
Quillen, Ford	D	n	y
Reynolds, Roscoe	D	n	n
Rollins, Kenneth	R	y	y
Robinson, William	D	n	n
Rollison, JA	R	n	n
Smith, Alson	D	y	n
Stafford, Jefferson	R	n	y
Stambaugh, Warren	D	n	n
Stieffen, Wallace	D	y	n
Stosch, Walter	R	n	y
Tata, Robert	R	n	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n	y
Van Landingham, Marian	D	n	n
Van Yahres, Mitchell	D	y	y
Watkins, John	R	n	n
Wilson, William	D	n	n

Wilkins, Vance	R	n	n
Woodrum, Clifton	D	n	n
Woods, Jane	R	n	n

number of
republicans 44

Source: General Assembly of Virginia. Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates. Session 1988. Commonwealth of Virginia. Department of Purchases and Supply. Richmond. 1988.

Year 1990

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Anderson, Howard	D	y	y
Andrews, Hunter	D	y	y
Barker, Onico	R	n	y
Benedetti, Joseph	R	n	
Bird, Daniel	D	n	y
Buchanan, John	D	n	n
Calhoun, Robert	R	y	
Chichester, John	R	n	y
Colgan, Charles	D	y	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n	y
Dalton, edwin	R	y	n
DuVal, Clive	D	y	y
Earley, Mark	R	n	n
Emick, Dudley	D	y	y
Fears, William	D	y	y
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n	y
Goode, Virgil	D	n	n
Gray, Elmon	D	y	y
Holland, Clarence	D	y	y
Holland, Edward	D	n	n
Holland, Richard	D	y	y
Houck, Edward	D	n	n
Joannou, Johnny	D	y	n
Lambert, Benjamin	D	y	n

Macfarlane, Granger	D	n	n
Marye, Madison	D	n	y
Michie, Thomas	D	y	n
Miller, Emilie	D	y	n
Miller, Kevin	R	y	n
Miller, Yvonne	D	n	n
Nolan, Frank	D	y	n
Russell, Robert	R	n	n
Salsaw, Richard	D	y	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y	y
Stallings, Moody	D	n	y
Truban, William	R	y	y
Waddell, Charles	D	y	n
Walker, Stanley	D	y	y
Wampler, William	R	n	n

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	previous political experience	Previous military experience
Abbitt, Watkins	D	n	n
Allen, George	D	n	n
Almand, James	D	n	n
Agee, Steven	R	n	n
Andrews, Robert	R	n	n
Ball, Robert	D	n	y
Brickley, David	D	n	y
Bloxom, Robert	R	n	n
Byrne, Leslie	D	n	n
Callahan, Vincent	R	y	y
Christian, Mary	I	n	n
clement, whittington	D	n	n
Cohen, Bernard	D	n	n
Copeland, Howard	D	n	y
Council, Paul	D	n	y
Cox, Kirkland	R	y	n
Calvert, Kenneth	R	n	n
Cooper, Shirley	D	y	n
Cranwell, Richard	D	n	n
Creekmore, Frederick	D	n	n
crenshaw, hatcher	R	n	n
Crouch, Jospeh	R	n	n
croshaw, glenn	D	n	n

Cunningham, Robert	R	n	y
Cunningham, Jean	D	n	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n	y
Dickinson, Earl	D	y	y
Dillard, James	R	n	y
DeBoer, Jay	D	n	n
Ealey, Roland	D	n	n
Eck, EC	D	y	n
Finney, Willard	D	n	n
Forbes, Randy	R	n	n
Forehand, Thomas	D	n	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n	n
Glasscock, Samuel	D	n	y
Grayson, George	D	n	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y	y
Hall, Franklin	D	n	n
Hanger, Emmet	R	n	y
Hamilton, Philip	R	n	n
Hargrove, Frank	R	y	y
Harris, Robert	R	y	n
Harris, edward	D	y	n
Hawkins, Charles	R	n	y
Heilig, George	D	n	n
Higginbotham, Page	R	n	n
Howell, William	R	n	n
Jackson, Thomas	D	y	n
Jennings, GC	D	y	n
Johnson, Josphe	D	n	n
Jones, Jerrauld	D	n	n
Jones, Beasley	D	n	n
Keating, Gladys	D	y	n
Kennedy, Jack	D	n	n
Marks, Hardaway	D	y	y
Marshall, Mary	D	n	n
Martin, Stephen	R	n	n
Maxwell, Henry	D	n	n
Mayer, Alan	D	n	n
McClanan, Glenn	D	n	n
Melvin, Kenneth	D	n	n
Miller, Clinton	R	y	n
Moore, William	D	n	n
Morgan, Harvey	R	n	y
Moss, Thomas	D	y	y

Munford, Joan	D	n	n
Murphy, Tayloe	D	y	n
O'Brien, JW	D	n	y
Orebaugh, Phoebe	R	n	n
Orrock, Robert	R	n	n
Parker, Lewis	D	n	n
Parrish, Harry	R	n	n
Phillips, Harry	D	y	n
Plum, Kenneth	D	y	n
Putkey, Harry	R	n	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n	y
Quillen, Ford	D	n	y
Reid, John	R	y	n
Reynolds, Roscoe	D	n	n
Rollins, Kenneth	R	y	y
Robinson, William	D	n	n
Rollins, Linda	R	n	n
Rollison, JA	R	n	n
Smith, Alson	D	y	n
Stafford, Jefferson	R	n	y
Stambaugh, Warren	D	n	n
Stieffen, Wallace	D	y	n
Stosch, Walter	R	n	y
Stump, Jack	I	n	n
Tata, Robert	R	n	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n	y
Van Landingham, Marian	D	n	n
Van Yahres, Mitchell	D	y	y
Watkins, John	R	n	n
Wilkins, Vance	R	n	n
Woodrum, Clifton	D	n	n
Woods, Jane	R	n	n

number of republicans

47

Source: The Almanac of Virginia Politics. Seventh Edition. 1990. Flora Crater, Meg Williams, Muriel Smith. Published by the Woman Activist Fund, Inc. Falls Church, Virginia.

Year 1992

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience
Andrews, Hunter	D	y
Barker, Onico	R	n
Bell, Brandon	R	y
Benedetti, Joseph	R	n
Calhoun, Robert	R	y
Chichester, John	R	n
Colgan, Charles	D	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n
Earley, Mark	R	n
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n
Goode, Virgil	D	n
Holland, Clarence	D	y
Holland, Edward	D	n
Holland, Richard	D	y
Houck, Edward	D	n
Howell, Janet	R	n
Lambert, Benjamin	D	y
Lucas, Louise	D	y
Marsh, Henry	D	n
Marye, Madison	D	n
Miller, Kevin	R	y
Miller, Yvonne	D	n
Nolan, Frank	D	y
Norment, Thomas	R	y
Potts, Russell	R	n
Quayle, Frederick	R	n
Reasor, Jackson	D	n
Robb, Edgar	R	n
Russell, Robert	R	n
Salsaw, Richard	D	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y
Scott, Robert	D	n
Stolle, Kenneth	R	y
Stosch, Walter	R	n
Trumbo, Malfourd	R	n
Waddell, Charles	D	y
Walker, Stanley	D	y
Wampler, William	R	n
Woods, Jane	R	n

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	previous political experience
Abbitt, Watkins	D	n
Almand, James	D	n
Agee, Steven	R	n
Armstrong, Ward	D	n
Ball, Robert	D	n
Bennet, WW	D	n
Brickley, David	D	n
Bloxom, Robert	R	n
Byrne, Leslie	D	n
Callahan, Vincent	R	y
Christian, Mary	I	n
clement, whittington	D	n
Cohen, Bernard	D	n
Copeland, Howard	D	n
Council, Paul	D	n
Cox, Kirkland	R	y
Cooper, Shirley	D	y
Cranwell, Richard	D	n
Crouch, Josphe	R	n
croshaw, glenn	D	n
Cunningham, Robert	R	n
Cunningham, Jean	D	n
Darner, Karen	D	n
Davies, John	D	y
Deeds, Creigh	D	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n
Dickinson, Earl	D	y
Dillard, James	R	n
DeBoer, Jay	D	n
Ealey, Roland	D	n
Finney, Willard	D	n
Fisher, Richard	R	n
Forbes, Randy	R	n
Forehand, Thomas	D	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n
Grayson, George	D	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y
Hall, Franklin	D	n
Hamilton, Philip	R	n

Hargrove, Frank	R	y
Harris, Robert	R	y
Heilig, George	D	n
Howell, William	R	n
Jackson, Thomas	D	y
Jennings, GC	D	y
Johnson, Jospeh	D	n
Jones, Jerrauld	D	n
Jones, Beasley	D	n
Keating, Gladys	D	y
Marshall, Bob	R	n
Martin, Stephen	R	n
Maxwell, Henry	D	n
Mayer, Alan	D	n
McClure, Roger	R	y
McDonnell, Robert	R	n
Melvin, Kenneth	D	n
Miller, Clinton	R	y
Mims, William	R	
Moore, William	D	n
Morgan, Harvey	R	n
Munford, Joan	D	n
Murphy, Tayloe	D	y
O'Brien, JW	D	n
Orrock, Robert	R	n
Parker, Lewis	D	n
Parrish, Harry	R	n
Phillips, Harry	D	y
Plum, Kenneth	D	y
Puller, Linda	D	n
Putkey, Harry	R	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n
Quillen, Ford	D	n
Reid, John	R	y
Reynolds, Roscoe	D	n
Rollins, Kenneth	R	y
Robinson, William	D	n
Rollison, JA	R	n
Smith, Alson	D	y
Stieffen, Wallace	D	y
Stump, Jack	I	n
Tata, Robert	R	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n

Van Landingham, Marian	D	n
Van Yahres, Mitchell	D	y
Wagner, Frank	R	n
Watkins, John	R	n
Way, Peter	R	n
Wilkins, Vance	R	n
Woodrum, Clifton	D	n
Woods, Jane	R	n

number of republicans 52

Source: The Almanac of Virginia Politics. Seventh Edition. 1992. Flora Crater, Meg Williams, Muriel Smith. Published by the Woman Activist Fund, Inc. Falls Church, Virginia.

Year 1994

Senate

Name of politician	party	previous political experience
Andrews, Hunter	D	y
Barry, Warren	R	y
Bell, Brandon	R	y
Benedetti, Joseph	R	n
Calhoun, Robert	R	y
Chichester, John	R	n
Colgan, Charles	D	y
Cross, Elmo	D	n
Earley, Mark	R	n
Gartlan, Joseph	D	n
Goode, Virgil	D	n
Hawkins, Charles	R	y
Holland, Clarence	D	y
Holland, Edward	D	n
Holland, Richard	D	y
Houck, Edward	D	n
Howell, Janet	R	n
Lambert, Benjamin	D	y
Lucas, Louise	D	y
Maxwell, Henry	D	y
Marsh, Henry	D	n
Marye, Madison	D	n

Miller, Kevin	R	y
Miller, Yvonne	D	n
Nolan, Frank	D	y
Norment, Thomas	R	y
Potts, Russell	R	n
Quayle, Frederick	R	n
Reasor, Jackson	D	n
Robb, Edgar	R	n
Russell, Robert	R	n
Salsaw, Richard	D	y
Schewel, Elliot	D	y
Stolle, Kenneth	R	y
Stosch, Walter	R	n
Trumbo, Malfourd	R	n
Waddell, Charles	D	y
Walker, Stanley	D	y
Wampler, William	R	n
Woods, Jane	R	n

House Of Delegates

Name of politician	party	previous political experience
Abbitt, Watkins	D	n
Albo, David	R	n
Almand, James	D	n
Armstrong, Ward	D	n
Ball, Robert	D	n
Barlow, William	D	y
Bennet, WW	D	n
Brickley, David	D	n
Bloxom, Robert	R	n
Callahan, Vincent	R	y
Christian, Mary	I	n
clement, whittington	D	n
Connally, Julia	D	n
Cohen, Bernard	D	n
Copeland, Howard	D	n
Council, Paul	D	n
Cox, Kirkland	R	y
Cooper, Shirley	D	y
Cranwell, Richard	D	n
Crouch, Josphe	R	n
croshaw, glenn	D	n

Cunningham, Jean	D	n
Darner, Karen	D	n
Davies, John	D	y
Deeds, Creigh	D	n
Diamonstein, Alan	D	n
Dickinson, Earl	D	y
Dillard, James	R	n
DeBoer, Jay	D	n
Dudley, Allen	R	n
Fisher, Richard	R	n
Forbes, Randy	R	n
Giesen, Arthur	R	n
Grayson, George	D	n
Guest, Raymond	R	y
Hall, Franklin	D	n
Hamilton, Philip	R	n
Hargrove, Frank	R	y
Harris, Robert	R	y
Heilig, George	D	n
Howell, William	R	n
Jackson, Thomas	D	y
Jennings, GC	D	y
Johnson, Jospeh	D	n
Jones, Jerrauld	D	n
Jones, Beasley	D	n
Katzen, Jay	R	y
Keating, Gladys	D	y
Kidd, Barnes Lee	R	n
Marshall, Bob	R	n
Martin, Stephen	R	n
Mayer, Alan	D	n
McClure, Roger	R	y
McDonnell, Robert	R	n
Melvin, Kenneth	D	n
Miller, Clinton	R	y
Mims, William	R	n
Moore, William	D	n
Morgan, Harvey	R	n
Murphy, Tayloe	D	y
Nelms, Robert	R	y
Newman, Stephen	R	n
O'Brien, JW	D	n
Orrock, Robert	R	n

Parker, Lewis	D	n
Parrish, Harry	R	n
Phillips, Harry	D	y
Plum, Kenneth	D	y
Puller, Linda	D	n
Putkey, Harry	R	n
Putney, Lacey	I	n
Reid, John	R	y
Rhodes, Anne	R	n
Reynolds, Roscoe	D	n
Robinson, William	D	n
Rollison, JA	R	n
Ruff, Frank	R	y
Scott, James	D	y
Sherwood, Beverly	R	n
Shuler, James	D	n
Spruill, Lionell	D	n
Stump, Jack	I	n
Tata, Robert	R	n
Thomas, Victor	D	n
Van Landingham, Marian	D	n
Van Yahres, Mitchell	D	y
Wagner, Frank	R	n
Watkins, John	R	n
Way, Peter	R	n
Wilkins, Vance	R	n
Woodrum, Clifton	D	n

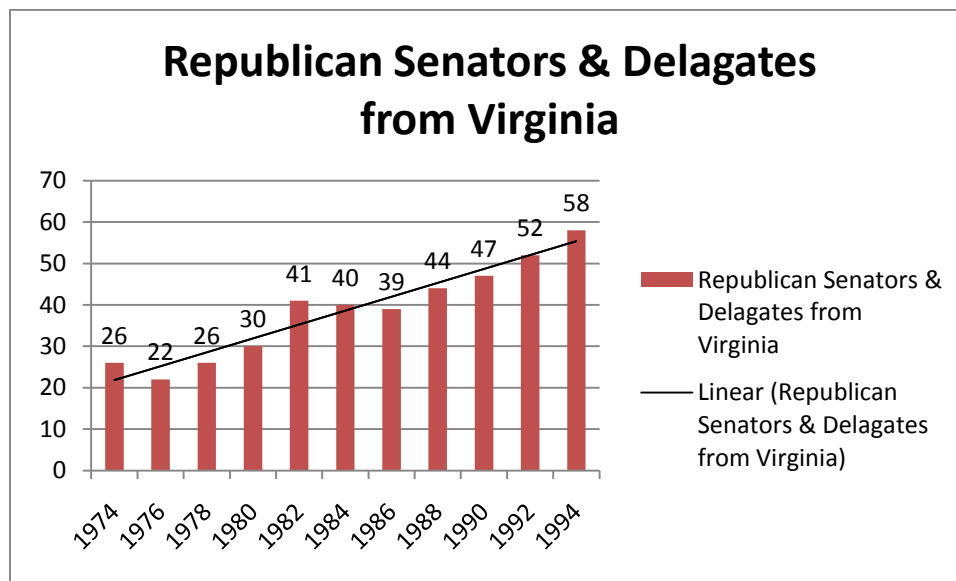
number of republicans 58

Source: The Almanac of Virginia Politics. Seventh Edition. 1994. Flora Crater, Meg Williams, Muriel Smith. Published by the Woman Activist Fund, Inc. Falls Church, Virginia.

Overall info from 1974-1994 GOP members of VA state legislature:

Year	Republicans
1974	26
1976	22
1978	26

1980	30
1982	41
1984	40
1986	39
1988	44
1990	47
1992	52
1994	58



SECTION EIGHT: REFERENCE LIST

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